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MOLINA, J.I.
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THE

HISTORY OF CHILI.

VOL. II.

79498.

THE

GEOGRAPHICAL,

NATURAL, AND CIVIL

HISTORY OF CHILI.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ITALIAN OF

THE ABBE DON J. IGNATIUS MOLINA.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

NOTES

FROM THE SPANISH AND FRENCH VERSIONS,

AND

TWO APPENDIXES,

BY THE ENGLISH EDITOR;

THE FIRST, AN ACCOUNT OF THE ARCHIPELAGO OF CHILOE, FROM THE DESCRIPCION HISTORIAL OF P. F. PEDRO GONZALEZ DE AGUEROS;

THE SECOND, AN ACCOUNT OF THE NATIVE TRIBES WHO INHABIT THE SOUTHERN EXTREMITY OF SOUTH AMERICA, EXTRACTED CHIEFLY FROM FALKNER'S DESCRIPTION OF PATAGONIA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, AND ORME,
PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1809.

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THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE

CIVIL HISTORY OF CHILI.

FOUR years have elapsed since I promised to publish the present Essay on the Civil History of Chili, as a continuation of the one formerly written on the Natural History of that country. Engagements of this kind are, however, from their nature, conditional. When I undertook this work, it was in full confidence of being in a short time in possession of the necessary materials to complete it. The first volume of the Abbé Olivares' manuscript I had then in my possession; this, with what works had appeared in print, supplied me with sufficient documents until the year 1665; and I was in constant expectation of receiving from Peru the second volume of the same author, in which he has brought the subject down to a late period.

In this hope I was disappointed. This volume, on which I had so confidently relied, I have never received, and have been in consequence compelled to seek from various other sources the information which it would have given me. The wars of the natives with the Spaniards being, however, the only proper subject of Chilian History, and but two having occurred since the above period, the first in 1722, and the second in 1767, I have been enabled, by the aid of some of my countrymen now in Italy, who recollect the principal events, to supply in some measure the want of a regular detail, and to give a sufficiently accurate account of them. Having stated these circumstances, I shall merely observe that, without being influenced by national distinctions or prejudices, the chief merit to which I aspire in this narration is that of impartiality. I have related nothing but what I have either found in those writers upon Chili who have preceded me, or have received from persons of unquestionable veracity, and have thought proper to confine myself to a plain narrative of facts, and omit all reflections that might occur, in order not to appear to be too much influenced in favour of either of the contending parties.

The attention of several philologists has of late years been directed to the examination of the barbarous languages. For this reason I have been induced to annex to this work some remarks upon the Chilian tongue, which, from its structure and harmony, well merits to be known. Several printed and manuscript grammars of this language are to be met with, but the one which I have principally used is that of Febres, printed at Lima, in the year 1765, and deserving of particular recommendation for its method and its clearness.

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

PAGE

CHAPTER I.—Of the Origin, Appearance, and Language, of the Chilians, - - - - - 1

CHAP. II.—Conquest of the Peruvians, - - 8

CHAP. III.—State of Chili before the arrival of the Spaniards; Its Agriculture and Aliment, - - - 12

CHAP. IV.—Political Establishments; Government and Arts, - - - - - - - - - 18

CHAP. V.—First Expedition of the Spaniards to Chili, 28

CHAP. VI.—The Spaniards return to Chili, under the Command of Pedro de Valdivia; St. Jago the Capital founded; Various Encounters with the Natives; Conspiracy of the Soldiers against the General, - 36

CHAP. VII.—The Copiapins defeat a Body of Spaniards; Successful Stratagem employed by the Quillotanes; Valdivia receives Reinforcements from Peru; He founds the City of Coquimbo, which is destroyed by the Natives; The Promaucians form an Alliance with the Spaniards; Foundation of the City of Conception, - - - - - 44

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.—Local Situation, Character, Dress, and Dwellings, of the Araucanians, - - - - 53

CHAP. II.—Division of the Araucanian State; Its political Form and civil Institutions, - - 60

PAGE
CHAP. III.—Military System of the Araucanians; Their Arms and Mode of making War, - - - 68
CHAP. IV.—Division of the Spoil; Sacrifice after War; Congress of Peace, - - - - 78
CHAP. V.—System of Religion and Funeral Ceremonies, 84
CHAP. VI.—Division of Time; Astronomical Ideas; Measures, - . - - - - - 95
CHAP. VII.—Rhetoric: Poetry; Medical Skill; Commerce of the Araucanians, - - - - 101
CHAP. VIII.—Pride of the Araucanians; Kindness and Charity towards each other; Mode of Salutation; Proper Names, - - - - 110
CHAP. IX.—Matrimony and Domestic Employments, 115
CHAP. X.—Food; Music and other Diversions, 121

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.—The Araucanians, under the conduct of Aillavalu, and afterwards of Lincoyan, attack the Spaniards; Valdivia makes Incursions into their Territory and founds therein the Cities of Imperial, Villarica, Valdivia, and Angol, with several other Places, - 129
CHAP. II.—Caupolican appointed Toqui; He attacks the Forts of Arauco and of Tucapel; The Spanish Army entirely defeated, and Valdivia slain, - 140
CHAP. III.—The Spaniards abandon Puren, Angol, and Villarica; Caupolican lays Siege to Imperial and Valdivia; Lautaro defeats the Spanish Army in Mariguenu, and destroys Conception, - - - 151
CHAP. IV.—Villagran raises the Sieges of Imperial and Valdivia; The Small Pox breaks out among the Araucanians; Conception having been rebuilt, Lautaro re-

PAGE

turns and destroys it; He marches against St. Jago, and is killed, - - - - - - 158

CHAP. V.—Don Garcia de Mendoza arrives at Chili, with a Reinforcement of troops; His Expedition against Caupolican, - - - - 170

CHAP. IV.—Don Garcia orders twelve Ulmenes to be hanged; He founds the City of Canete; Caupolican, attempting to surprise it, is defeated, and his Army entirely dispersed, - - - - 181

CHAP. VII.—Expedition of Don Garcia to the Archipelago of Chiloé; Foundation of Osorno; Caupolican taken and impaled - - - - 187

CHAP. VIII.—Successes of Caupolican the Second; Siege of Imperial; Battle of Quipeo fatal to the Araucanians; Death of Caupolican; Termination of the Government of Don Garcia, - - 194

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.—The Toqui Antiguenu recommences the War; His Successes against Francis Villagran, the Governor; Destruction of Canete; Sieges of Arauco and Conception; Battle of the Bio-bio, - - 203

CHAP. II.—Paillataru elected Toqui; Government of Roderigo de Quiroga; Conquest of the Archipelago of Chiloé; Description of the Inhabitants, - 212

CHAP. III.—Establishment of the Court of Royal Audience; Government of Don Melchor Bravo de Saravia; Military Operations of Paillataru and his Successor Paynenancu; Suppression of the Court of Audience; Second Government of Quiroga; Foundation of Chillan; Some Account of the Pehuenches, - 218

CHAP. IV.—Government of the Marquis de Villahermosa; His Successes against Paynenancu; Capture and

PAGE

Death of that General; Enterprises of the Toqui Cayancura, and his Son Nangoniel; Landing of the English in Chili; Operations of the Toqui Cadeguala, 229

CHAP. V.—The Toqui Guanoalca takes the Forts of Puren, Trinidad, and Spirito Santo; Exploits of the Heroine Janequeo; Battles of Mariguenu and Tucapel 239

CHAP. VI.—The Toqui Paillamachu kills Loyola the Governor, and destroys all the Spanish Settlements in Araucania, - - - - - 249

CHAP. VII.—Second unfortunate Government of Garcia Ramon; Restoration of the Court of Royal Audience; Ineffectual Negotiation for Peace, - - 262

CHAP. VIII.—Daring Enterprises of the Toquis Lientur and Putapichion, - - - - 272

CHAP. IX.—Continuation of the War; Third Expedition of the Dutch against Chili; Peace concluded with the Araucanians; Its short Duration; Exploits of the Toqui Clentaru; Series of Spanish Governors, to the Year 1720, - - - - 285

CHAP. X.—A brief Account of the Wars of the Toquis Vilumilla and Curignancu; Spanish Governors, to the Year 1787, - - - - - 297

CHAP. XI.—Present State of Chili, - - 307

An Essay on the Chilian Language, - - 331

APPENDIX. No. I.—Account of the Archipelago of Chiloé, extracted chiefly from the Descripcion Historial of that Province, by P. F. Pedro Gonzalez de Agueros. —Madrid, 1791, - - - - - - 367

APPENDIX. No. II.—Account of the Native Tribes who inhabit the Southern Extremity of South America, extracted chiefly from Falkner's Description of Patagonia, 375

THE

CIVIL HISTORY

OF

CHILI.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Origin, Appearance, and Language of the Chilians.

THE origin of the primitive inhabitants of Chili, like that of the other American nations, is involved in impenetrable obscurity; nor have they any records, or monuments of antiquity, that can serve to elucidate so interesting an inquiry. Upon the arrival of the Spaniards they were entirely unacquainted with the art of writing, and their traditionary accounts are so crude and imperfect, that they afford not the least degree of rational information to the inquisitive mind. Many of the inhabitants suppose that they are indigenous to the country, while others derive their origin from a foreign stock, and at one time say that their ancestors came from the north, and at another time, from the west.

It is a general opinion that America was settled from the north-eastern part of Asia, from the supposed easy communication between them, in consequence of the vicinity of these countries. But the opinion entertained by the Chilians, that their country was peopled from the west, is not so extravagant as at first sight it may appear. The discoveries of the English navigators in the South Sea have ascertained that between America and the southern point of Asia there is a chain of innumerable islands, the probable remains of some vast tract of land which, in that quarter, once united the two continents, and rendered the communication between Asia and the opposite shore of America easy. From whence it is very possible that, while North America has been peopled from the north-west, the south has received its inhabitants from the southern parts of Asia, the natives of this part of the new world being of a mild character, much resembling that of the southern Asiatics, and little tinctured with the ferocity of the Tartars. Like the languages of the Oriental Indians, theirs is also harmonious, and abounds in vowels. The influence of climate may undoubtedly affect language so far as to modify it, but can never produce a complete change in its primitive structure.

The Chilians call their first progenitors *Pegni Epatun,* which signifies the brothers *Epatun*; but of these patriarchs nothing but the name is known. They also call them *glyce,* primitive men, or men from the beginning, and in their assemblies invoke them, together with their deities, crying out with a loud voice, *Pom, pum, pum, mari, mari, Epunamun, Amimalguen, Peni Epatum.* The signification of the three first words is uncertain, and they might be considered as interjections, did not the word *pum,* by which the Chinese call the first created man, or the one saved from the waters, induce a suspicion, from its similarity, that these have a similar signification. The lamas, or priests of Thibet, from the accounts of the natives of Indostan, are accustomed to repeat on their rosaries, the syllables *hom, ha, hum,* or *om, am, um,* which in some measure corresponds with what we have mentioned of the Chilians.

That Chili was originally peopled by one nation appears probable, as all the aborigines inhabiting it, however independent of each other, speak the same language, and have a similar appearance. Those that dwell in the plains are of good stature, but those that live in the valleys of the Andes, generally surpass the usual height of man. The purer air which they respire, and the continual exercise to which they are accustomed among their mountains, may perhaps be the cause of this difference, by imparting greater vigour to their frames. The features of both are regular, and neither of them have ever discovered that capricious whim, so common to savages of both the old and new world, of attempting to improve nature by disfiguring their faces, with a view of rendering themselves more beautiful or more formidable. Of course, M. Buffon has been led into an error in asserting, in his treatise on man, that the Chilians are accustomed to enlarge their ears.

Their complexion, like that of the other American nations, is of a reddish brown, but it is of a clearer hue, and readily changes to white. A tribe who dwell in the province of Baroa are of a clear white and red, without any intermixture of the copper colour. As they differ in no other respect from the other Chilians, this variety may be owing to some peculiar influence of their climate, or to the greater degree of civilization which they possess; it is, however, attributed by the Spanish writers to the prisoners of that nation, who were confined in this province during the unfortunate war in the sixteenth century. But as the Spanish prisoners were equally distributed among the other provinces of their conquerors, none of whose inhabitants are white, this opinion would seem to be unfounded. Besides, as the first Spaniards who came to Chili were all from the southern provinces of Spain, where the ruddy complexion is rare, their posterity would not have exhibited so great a difference.

On examining the harmony and richness of their language, we are naturally led to conclude that the Chilians must have, in former times, possessed a much greater degree of civilization than at present; or, at least, that they are the remains of a great and illustrious nation, ruined by some of those physical or moral revolutions so common to our globe. The improvement and perfection of language constantly follow the steps of civilization; nor can it be easily conceived how a nation that has never emerged from a savage state, that has neither been polished by laws, by commerce, nor by arts, can possess an elegant, expressive, and copious dialect. The number of words in a language presupposes a correspondent number of ideas in the persons who speak it, and these among a rude people are, and, necessarily must be, very limited.

So copious is the Chilian language, that, in the opinion of those well acquainted with it, a complete dictionary thereof would require more than one large volume; for, besides the radical words, which are very numerous, so great is the use of compounds, that, it may almost be said, in this consists the very genius of the language. Each verb, either derivatively or conjunctively, becomes the root of numerous other verbs and nouns, as well adjectives as substantives, which in their turn re-produce others that are secondary, modifying themselves in a hundred different ways.

Nor is there any part of speech, from which an appropriate verb cannot be formed by the addition of a final *n*. Even from the most simple particles various verbs are derived, that give great precision and strength to conversation. But what is truly surprising in this language is that it contains no irregular verb or noun. Every thing in it may be said to be regulated with a geometrical precision, and displays much art with great simplicity, and a connection so well ordered and unvarying in its grammatical rules, which always make the subsequent depend upon its antecedent, that the theory of the language is easy, and may be readily learned in a few days.

This close analogy and regularity, may at a slight view induce an opinion little favourable to the capacity of those who formed or polished this dialect, as the original languages, it is well known, were regular in their rude and primitive state. But a very different conclusion will be drawn by those who examine its structure, and attend to the extent and complexity of ideas necessary to have formed it, and to have modified the words in so many different ways, without embarrassing the particular rules.

The same language also abounds with harmonious and sonorous syllables, which give it much sweetness and variety; this is, however, injured by the frequent recurrence of the *u*, a defect from which the Latin is by no means exempt. In this respect the latter has, however, been fortunately corrected in its derivatives, particularly the Italian, which has studied to avoid, especially in the finals, the unpleasant sound resulting from the use of that vowel.

The Chilian differs from every other American language, not less in its words than its construction, with the exception of from eighteen to twenty of Peruvian origin, which, considering the contiguity of the two countries, is not to be wondered at.

But what may appear much more singular is, that it contains words apparently of Greek and Latin derivation, and of a similar signification in both languages;* I am inclined, however, to think this merely an accidental resemblance.

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* *If this is not, as our author supposes, merely a casual resemblance of a few words, which frequently occurs in languages radically different, it certainly affords much ground for curious speculation; and we may, perhaps, be led to consider the tradition of a Phenician or Carthaginian colony in America, as not altogether so destitute of probability, especially as the language of the Chilians, so different from that of any other of the American tribes, appears to indicate a different origin.*—Amer. Trans.

CHAP. II.

Conquest of the Peruvians in Chili.

THE history of the Chilians does not precede the middle of the fifteenth century of our era; before that period, for want of records, it is lost in the obscurity of time. The first accounts of them are contained in the Peruvian annals; that nation, as they were more civilized, being more careful to preserve the memory of remarkable events.

About that time the Peruvians had extended their dominion from the equator to the tropic of Capricorn. Chili, bordering upon that tropic, was too important an acquisition not to attract the ambitious views of those conquerors. This country, which extends for 1260 miles upon the Pacific Ocean, enjoys a delightful and salutary climate. The vast chain of the Cordilleras bordering it upon the east, supplies it with an abundance of rivers, which increase its natural fertility. The face of the country, which is mountainous towards the sea, and level near the Andes, is well suited to every kind of vegetable production, and abounds with mines of gold, silver, and other useful metals.

Favoured by the pleasantness of the country and salubrity of the climate, the population at this period may be readily imagined to have been very numerous. The inhabitants were divided into fifteen tribes, or communities, independent of each other, but subject to certain chiefs, called Ulmenes. These tribes, beginning at the north and proceeding to the south, were called Copiapins, Coquimbanes, Quillotanes, Mapochinians, Promaucians, Curés, Cauques, Pencones, Araucanians, Cunches, Chilotes, Chiquilanians, Pehuenches, Puelches, and Huilliches.

The Inca Yupanqui, who reigned in Peru about the year 1450, being informed of the natural advantages possessed by Chili, resolved to attempt the conquest of it. With this intent he marched with a powerful army to the frontiers of that kingdom; but, either through apprehension of his personal safety, or with the view of being in a more favourable situation to furnish the means of effecting his designs, he established himself with his court in the neighbouring province of Atracama, and entrusted the command of the expedition to Sinchiruca, a prince of the blood royal.

Preceded, according to the specious custom of the Peruvians, by several ambassadors, and followed by a large body of troops, this general subjected to the Peruvian government, more by persuasion than by force, the Copiapins, Coquimbanes, Quillotanes, and Mapochinians. After this, having passed the river Rapel, he proceeded to attack the Promaucians, who could not be induced by the persuasions of the ambassadors to submit themselves. This nation, whose name signifies the free dancers, from their being much attached to that diversion, inhabited the delightful country lying between the rivers Rapel and Maúle, and were distinguished from all the other tribes by their fondness for every species of amusement. The love of pleasure had not, however, rendered them effeminate: they opposed the Peruvian army with the most heroic valour, and entirely defeated it in a battle, which, according to Garcilasso the historian, was continued for three days in succession, in consequence of the continued reinforcements of both parties.

The Inca, on learning the ill success of his arms, and the invincible valour of the Promaucians, gave orders, that in future the river Rapel should serve as the boundary of his dominion on that side. Garcilasso says, that it was the river Maúle, but it is by no means probable, that the conquerors should be comprehended within the territories of the vanquished. In fact, not far from the river Cachapoal, which, together with the Tinguiririca, forms the Rapel, are still to be seen upon a steep hill, the remains of a fort of Peruvian construction, which was undoubtedly built to protect that part of the frontier against the attacks of the unconquered Promaucians.

Thus Chili became divided into two parts, the one free, and the other subject to foreign domination. The tribes, who had so readily submitted to the Peruvians, were subjected to an annual tribute in gold, an imposition which they had never before experienced. But the conquerors, whether they dared not hazard the attempt, or were not able to effect it, never introduced their form of government into these provinces. Of course, the subjected Chilians as well as the free, preserved until the arrival of the Spaniards, their original manners, which were by no means so rude as many are led to imagine.

CHAP. III

State of Chili before the arrival of the Spaniards. Its agriculture and aliment.

MAN, in his progress to the perfection of civil life, passes in succession through four important states or periods. From a hunter he becomes a shepherd, next a husbandman, and at length a merchant, the period which forms the highest degree of social civilization. The Chilians, when they were first known to the Spaniards, had attained the third state; they were no longer hunters but agriculturists. Reasoning from general principles, Dr. Robertson has therefore been led into an error in placing them in the class of hunters, an occupation which they probably never pursued, except on their first establishment. Becoming soon weary of the fatiguing exercise of the chace, in a country where game is not very abundant, and having but few domestic animals, they began at an early period to attend to the cultivation of such nutritious plants, as necessity or accident had made known to them. Thus were they induced from the circumstances of their situation, and not from choice, to pass rapidly to the third period of social life.

These plants, which have been described in the first part of this work, were the *maize,* the *magu,* the *guegen,* the *tuca,* the *quinoa,* pulse of various kinds, the potatoe, the *oxalis tuberosa,* the common and the yellow pumkin or gourd, the Guinea pepper, the *madi,* and the great strawberry. To these provisions of the vegetable kind, which are far from despicable, may be added the little rabbit, the Chiliheuque, or Araucanian camel, whose flesh furnished excellent food, and whose wool, clothing for these people. If tradition may be credited, they had also the hog and the domestic fowl. Their dominion over the tribe of animals was not extended beyond these, although they might as readily have domesticated the guanaco, a very useful animal, the pudu, a species of wild goat, and various birds with which the country abounds.

However, with these productions, which required but a very moderate degree of industry, they subsisted comfortably, and even with a degree of abundance, considering the few things which their situation rendered necessary.

To this circumstance is owing, that the Spaniards, who under the command of Almagro invaded Chili, found upon their entering its valley an abundance of provisions to recruit themselves after the hunger which they had endured in their imprudent march through the desarts bordering upon Peru.

Subsistence, the source of population, being thus secured, the country, as before remarked, became rapidly peopled under the influence of so mild a climate; whence it appears, that the first writers who treated of Chili cannot have greatly exaggerated in saying that the Spaniards found it filled with inhabitants. It is a fact that there was but one language spoken throughout the country; a proof that these tribes were in the habit of intercourse with each other, and were not isolated, or separated by vast desarts, or by immense lakes or forests, which is the case in many other parts of America, but which were at that time in Chili, as they are now, of inconsiderable extent.

It would seem that agriculture must have made no inconsiderable progress among a people who possessed, as did the Chilians, a great variety of the above-mentioned alimentary plants, all distinguished by their peculiar names, a circumstance that could not have occurred except in a state of extensive and varied cultivation. They had also in many parts of the country aqueducts for watering their fields, which were constructed with much skill. Among these, the canal, which for the space of many miles borders the rough skirts of the mountains in the vicinity of the capital and waters the lands to the northward of that city, is particularly remarkable for its extent and solidity. They were likewise acquainted with the use of the manures, called by them *vunalti,* though from the great fertility of the soil but little attention was paid to them.

Being in want of animals of strength to till the ground, they were accustomed to turn it up with a spade made of hard wood, forcing it into the earth with their breasts; but as this process was very slow and fatiguing, it is surprising that they had not discovered some other mode more expeditious and less laborious. They at present make use of a simple kind of plough, called *chetague,* made of the limb of a tree curved at one end, in which is inserted a share formed of the same material, with a handle to guide it. Whether this rude instrument of agriculture, which appears to be a model of the first plough ever used, is one of their own invention, or was taught them by the Spaniards, is uncertain; from its extreme simplicity I should, however, be strongly induced to doubt the latter. Admiral Spilsberg observes, that the inhabitants of Mocha, an island in the Araucanian Sea, where the Spaniards have never had a settlement, make use of this plough, drawn by two chilihueques, to cultivate their lands; and Fathers Bry, who refer to this fact, add, that the Chilians, with the assistance of these animals, tilled their grounds before they received cattle from Europe. However this may be, it is certain that this species of camel was employed antecedent to that period as beasts of burden, and the transition from carriage to the draught is not difficult.

Man merely requires to become acquainted with the utility of any object, to induce him to apply it by degrees to other advantageous purposes.

It is a generally received opinion that grain was eaten raw by the first men who employed it as an article of food. But this aliment being of an insipid taste, and difficult of mastication, they began to parch or roast it; the grain thus cooked easily pulverizing in the hands, gave them the first idea of meal, which they gradually learned to prepare in the form of gruel, cakes, and finally of bread. At the period of which we treat, the Chilians ate their grain cooked; this was done either by boiling it in earthen pots adapted to the purpose, or roasting it in hot sand, an operation which rendered it lighter and less viscous. But not satisfied with preparing it in this mode, which has always been the most usual among nations emerging from the savage state, they proceeded to make of it two distinct kinds of meal, the parched, to which they gave the name of *murque,* and the raw, which they called *rugo.* With the first they made gruels, and a kind of beverage which they at present use for breakfast instead of chocolate ; from the second they prepared cakes, and a bread called by them *couque,* which they baked in holes formed like ovens, excavated in the sides of the mountains and in the banks of the rivers, a great number of which are still to be seen. Their invention of a kind of sieve, called *chignigue,* for separating the bran from the flour, affords matter of surprise; that they employed leaven is, however, still more surprising, as such a discovery can only be made gradually, and is the fruit of reasoning or observation, unless they were led to it by some fortunate accident, which most probably was the case when they first began to make use of bread.

From the above-mentioned grains, and the berries of several trees, they obtained nine or ten kinds of spiritous liquor, which they fermented and kept in earthen jars, as was the custom with the Greeks and Romans. This refinement of domestic economy, though not originating from actual necessity, appears to be natural to man, in whatever situation he is found ; more especially when he is brought to live in society with his fellow men. The discovery of fermented liquors soon follows that of aliment ; and it is reasonable to believe that the use of such beverages is of high antiquity among the Chilians, more especially as their country abounds in materials for making them.

CHAP. IV.

Political Establishments, Government, and Arts.

Agriculture is the vital principle of society and of the arts. Scarcely does a wandering family, either from inclination or necessity, begin to cultivate a piece of ground, when it establishes itself upon it from a natural attachment, and, no longer relishing a wandering and solitary life, seeks the society of its fellows, whose succours it then begins to find necessary for its welfare. The Chilians, having adopted that settled mode of life indispensable to an agricultural people, collected themselves into families, more or less numerous, in those districts that were best suited to their occupation, where they established themselves in large villages, called *cara,* a name which they at present give to the Spanish cities, or in small ones, which they denominated *lov.* But these accidental collections had not the form of the present European settlements; they consisted only of a number of huts, irregularly dispersed within sight of each other, precisely in the manner of the German settlements in the time of Charlemagne. Some of these villages exist even at present in several parts of Spanish Chili, of which the most considerable are Lampa, in the province of Saint Jago, and Lora, in that of Maúle.

But as no civil establishment can exist without some form of government, they had in each village or hamlet a chief called *Ulmen,* who in certain points was subject to the supreme ruler of the tribe, who was known by the same name. The succession of all these chiefs was established by hereditary right, a custom that proves the antiquity of these political assemblages. Among other savage nations, strength, skill in hunting, or martial prowess, were the first steps to authority, and afterwards procured the regal sway for those who were invested with command. But with the Chilians, on the contrary, it would seem as if wealth had been the means of exalting the ruling families to the rank which they occupy, since the word *ulmen,* unless taken in a metaphorical sense, signifies a rich man. The authority of these chiefs was probably very limited, that is, merely directive, and not coercive, as that of the rulers of all barbarous nations has been, when despotism, favoured by propitious circumstances, has not effaced the ideas of absolute independence, which are in a manner innate among savages, as has been the case with the greater part of the nations of Asia and of Africa. From hence it will not be necessary to investigate the laws of these small societies, which were probably governed only by usages and customs that had been introduced through motives of necessity or convenience.

The right of private property was fully established among the Chilians. Each was absolute master of the field that he cultivated, and of the product of his industry, which he could transmit to his children by hereditary succession. This fundamental principle gave rise to the first arts, which the wants of nature and their political constitution required. They built their houses of a quadrangular form, and covered the roof with rushes, the walls were made of wood plaistered with clay, and sometimes of brick, called by them *tica ;* the use of which they doubtless learned from the Peruvians, among whom it was known by the same name.

From the wool of the Chilihueque, they manufactured cloths for their garments : for this they made use of the spindle and distaff, and two kinds of looms ; the first, called *guregue,* is not very unlike that used in Europe ; the other is vertical, from whence it derives its name *uthalgue,* from the verb *uthalen,* which signifies to stand upright. Their language contains words appropriate to every part of these looms, and whatever relates to the manufacture of wool. They had likewise a kind of needle to sew their garments, as is obvious from the verb *nuduven,* to sew; but of what substance it was made I am unable to determine, Embroidery, to which they gave the name of *dumican,* was also known to them.

From these arts of the first necessity, they proceeded to those of a secondary kind, or such as were required by convenience. With the excellent clay of their country, they made pots, plates, cups, and even large jars to hold their fermented liquors. These vessels they baked in certain ovens or holes, made in the declivity of hills. They also made use of a mineral earth called *colo,* for varnishing their vessels. It is very certain that the art of pottery is of great antiquity in Chili, as on opening a large heap of stones in the mountains of Arauco, an urn of extraordinary size was discovered at the bottom. For their vessels they not only made use of earth, but of hard wood, and even of marble, and vases of the latter have been sometimes discovered that were polished with the greatest perfection.

From the earth they extracted gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead; and, after purifying, employed these metals in a variety of useful and curious works, particularly the bell-metal copper, which is very hard; of this they made axes, hatchets, and other edged tools, but in small quantities, as they are rarely to be met with in their sepulchres; where, on the contrary, hatchets made of a species of basalt are very frequently found. It is remarkable, that iron, universally supposed to have been unknown to the American nations, has a particular name in the Chilian language. It is called *panilgue,* and the weapons made of it *chiuquel,* in distinction from those made of other materials, which are comprehended under the general name of *nulin.* The smith was called *ruthavé,* from the verb *ruthan,* which signifies to work in iron. These circumstances give rise to a suspicion that they not only were acquainted with this valuable metal, but that they also made use of it. But, considering the silence of the first writers upon America on this subject, notwithstanding the inferences that may be drawn from hence, this point must always remain undecided, unless pieces of iron should be found of incontestible antiquity.

They had also discovered the method of making salt upon the sea shore, and extracted fossil salt from several mountains that abounded in that production. These they distinguished by different names, calling the first *chiadi,* and the other *lilcochiadi,* that is, salt of the water of rocks. They procured dyes of all colours for their clothes, not only from the juice of plants, but also from mineral earths, and had discovered the art of fixing them by means of the *polcura,* a luminous stone of an astringent quality. Instead of soap, the composition of which they had not discovered, although acquainted with lie, they employed the bark of the *quillai,* which is an excellent substitute. From the seeds of the madi, they obtained an oil which is very good to eat and to burn, though I am ignorant whether they ever applied it to the latter purpose.

Their language contains words discriminative of several kinds of baskets and mats, which they manufactured from various vegetables. The plant called *gnocchia* furnishes them with thread for their ropes and fishing nets, of which they have three or four kinds. They also make use of baskets and hooks for taking fish, but of what substance the latter are made I am not able to determine. The inhabitants of the sea-coast make use of pirogues of different sizes, and floats made of wood, or of seal skins sewed together and inflated with air.

Although hunting was not a principal occupation with these people, yet, for amusement, or with the view of increasing their stock of provision, they were accustomed to take such wild animals as are found in their country, particularly birds, of which there are great quantities. For this purpose they made use of the arrow, of the sling, and of the *laque* or noose, already described in the preceding part of this work, and of several kinds of snares constructed with much ingenuity, known by the general appellation of *guaches*. It is a singular fact, that they employed the same method of taking wild ducks, in their lakes and rivers, as that made use of by the Chinese, covering their heads with perforated gourds, and letting themselves glide gently down among them. These minutiæ would perhaps be scarcely worth attending to, in an account of the manners and discoveries of a people well known for their advancement in the arts of civilization, but in the history of a remote and unknown nation, considered as savage, they become important and even necessary to form a correct opinion of the degree of their progress in society.

With means of subsistence, sufficient to have procured them still greater conveniences of living, it would seem that the Chilians ought to have progressed with rapid steps towards the perfection of civil society. But from a species of inertia, natural to man, nations often remain for a long time stationary, even when circumstances appear favourable to their improvement. The transition from a savage to a social life is not so easy as at first view may be imagined, and the history of all civilized nations may be adduced in proof of this proposition.

The Chilians were also isolated, and had none of those commercial connections with foreigners which are the only means of polishing a people. The neighbouring nations were in a state of still greater rudeness than themselves, except the Peruvians, a connection with whom, from their ambition of dominion they would more studiously avoid than cherish. They learned, however, some things from them during the time that they were in possession of the northern provinces, at which period they had attained that middle point between the savage and civilized state, known by the name of barbarism. Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the variety of their occupations, which multiplied the objects of their attention, gradually enlarged the sphere of their ideas.

They had progressed so far in this respect, as to invent the numbers requisite to express any quantity, *mari* signifying with them ten, *pataca* a hundred, and *guaranca* a thousand. Even the Romans possessed no simple numerical terms of greater value, and indeed calculation may be carried to any extent by a combination of these principal decimals.

To preserve the memory of their transactions, they made use, as other nations have done, of the *pron,* called by the Peruvians *quippo,* which was a skein of thread of several colours with a number of knots. The subject treated of was indicated by the colours, and the knots designated the number or quantity. This is all the use that I have been able to discover in such a *register, in which some authors have pretended to find a substitute for the art of writing. This admirable art was unknown to the Chilians; for although the word *chilcan*, to write, is met with in their language, it was originally nothing more than a synonym of *guirin*, which signifies to sketch or paint. Of their skill in this latter art, I am ignorant; but if we may form an opinion from representations of men that are cut upon certain rocks, we must conclude that they were entirely unacquainted with it, as nothing coarser or more disproportioned can be imagined.

Far different was the progress which they made in the sciences of physic and astronomy, it was indeed wonderful; but an account of these, of their religion, their music and military skill, I shall reserve till I treat of the Araucanians, who still continue the faithful depositories of all the science and ancient customs of the Chilians. Their language contains also words indicating a knowledge of several other arts, which I decline mentioning, as there are no guides of sufficient accuracy to conduct our researches into a subject so important, and at the same time so doubtful. The first Europeans who visited these countries, attracted by other objects of far less interest, thought little or nothing of those that merit the attention of every observing mind, on visiting an unknown people. From thence it has happened that their accounts, for the most part, furnish us only with vague and confused ideas, from whence we can draw nothing but conjectures. The Chilians, however, remained in much the same state of society as I have described, until an unexpected revolution compelled them, in a great measure, to adopt other customs and other laws.

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* The *quipos* is still used by shepherds in Peru, who keep account by it of the number of their flocks, and of the day and hour when the ewe yeaned, or the lamb was lost.

An Italian author, after the publication of M. Grafigny's novel, wrote a large quarto volume concerning the *quipos*. He describes every thing relating to *quipography*, says the Limas-Essarist, as confidently as if he had been Quipo-Camáyn to the Incas; but the misfortune is, that all his conjectures are erroneous.—*E. E.*

Mercurio Peruano, Marzo 17, 1791, *T.* 1. *f.* 206.

CHAP. V.

First Expedition of the Spaniards to Chili.

Francis Pizarro and Diego Almagro having put to death the Inca Atahualpa, had subjected the empire of Peru to the dominion of Spain. Pizarro, desirous of enjoying without a rival this important conquest, made at their mutual expense, persuaded his companion to undertake the reduction of Chili, celebrated for its riches throughout all those countries. Almagro, filled with sanguine expectations of booty, began his march for that territory in the end of the year 1535, with an army composed of 570 Spaniards and 15,000 Peruvians, under the command of *Paullu*, the brother of the Inca Manco, the nominal Emperor of Peru, who had succeeded the unfortunate Atahualpa.

Two roads lead from Peru to Chili; one is by the sea-coast, and is destitute of water and provision; the other, for a distance of 120 miles, passes over the immense mountains of the Andes. This last Almagro took, for no other reason but because it was the shortest. His army, after having been exposed to infinite fatigue, and many conflicts with the adjoining savages, reached the Cordilleras just at the commencement of winter, destitute of provisions, and but ill supplied with clothing. In this season the snow falls almost continually, and completely covers the few paths that are passable in summer. Notwithstanding, the soldiers, encouraged by their general, who had no idea of the danger of the passage, advanced with much toil to the top of those rugged heights. But victims to the severity of the weather, 150 Spaniards there perished, with 10,000 Peruvians, who, being accustomed to the warmth of the torrid zone, were less able to endure the rigours of the frost.

The historians who have given an account of this unfortunate expedition concur in saying, that of all this army not one would have escaped with life, had not Almagro, resolutely pushing forward with a few horse, sent them timely succours and provisions, which were found in abundance in Copiapo. Those of the most robust constitutions, who were able to resist the inclemency of the season, by this unexpected aid were enabled to extricate themselves from the snow, and at length reached the plains of that province, which is the first in Chili, where through respect for the Peruvians they were well received and entertained by the inhabitants.

The Inca Paullu, who was well acquainted with the object of the expedition, thought that nothing would contribute more to raise the spirits of his dejected friends, than by letting them know the importance of their conquest. With this intent, he obliged the peasants to deliver up to him all the gold in their possession, and having by this means collected 500,000 ducats, he presented them to Almagro. The Spaniard was so highly pleased, that he distributed the whole among his soldiers, to whom he also remitted the debts they owed him for the immense sums of money that he had advanced for the preparation of the enterprize. Being persuaded that in a short time he should have all the gold of the country at his disposal, he sought by this display of liberality to maintain the reputation of being generous, which he had acquired in Peru by his profuse lavishment of the treasures of its sovereigns.

While Almagro remained in Copiapo, he discovered that the reigning *Ulmen* had usurped the government in prejudice of his nephew and ward, who, through fear of his uncle, had fled to the woods. Pretending to be irritated at this act of injustice, he caused the guilty chief to be arrested, and calling before him the lawful heir, reinstated him in the government with the universal applause of his subjects, who attributed this conduct entirely to motives of justice, and a wish to redress the injured.

The Spaniards, having recovered from their fatigues through the hospitable assistance of the Copiapins, and reinforced by a number of recruits whom Rodrigo Organez had brought from Peru, commenced their march for the southern provinces, filled with the most flattering hopes, increased by the beautiful appearance of the country, and the numerous villages that appeared upon all sides. The natives crowded round them on their march, as well to examine them nearer, as to present them with such things as they thought would prove agreeable to a people, who appeared to them of a character far superior to that of other men.

In the meantime, two soldiers having separated from the army, proceeded to Guasco, where they were at first well received, but were afterwards put to death by the inhabitants, in consequence, no doubt, of some acts of violence, which soldiers, freed from the control of their officers, are very apt to commit. This was the first European blood spilt in Chili, a country afterwards so copiously watered with it.

On being informed of this unfortunate accident, calculated to destroy the exalted opinion which he wished to inspire of his soldiers, Almagro, having proceeded to Coquimbo, ordered the *Ulmen* of the district, called Marcando, his brother, and twenty of the principal inhabitants to be brought thither, all of whom, together with the usurper of Copiapo, he delivered to the flames, without, according to Herrera, pretending to assign any reason for his conduct. This act of cruelty appeared to every one very extraordinary and unjust, since among those adventurers there were not wanting men of sensibility, and advocates for the rights of humanity. The greater part of the army openly disapproved of the severity of their general, the aspect of whose affairs from this time forward became gradually worse and worse.

About this period, 1537, Almagro received a considerable reinforcement of recruits under Juan de Rada, accompanied with royal letters patent, appointing him governor of two hundred leagues of territory, situated to the southward of the government granted to Francis Pizarro. The friends whom he had left in Peru, taking advantage of this opportunity, urged him by private letters to return, in order to take possession of Cuzco, which they assured him was within the limits of his jurisdiction. Notwithstanding this, inflated with his new conquest, he pursued his march, passed the fatal Cachapoal, and, regardless of the remonstrances of the Peruvians, advanced into the country of the Promaucians.

At the first sight of the Spaniards, their horses, and the thundering arms of Europe, these valiant people were almost petrified with astonishment, but soon recovering from the effects of surprise, they opposed with intrepidity their new enemies upon the shore of the Rio-claro. Almagro, despising their force, placed in the first line his Peruvian auxiliaries, increased by a number whom *Paullu* had drawn from the garrisons; but these, being soon routed, fell back in confusion upon the rear. The Spaniards, who expected to have been merely spectators of the battle, saw themselves compelled to sustain the vigorous attack of the enemy, and advancing with their horse, began a furious battle, which continued with great loss upon either side, till night separated the combatants.

Although the Promaucians had been very roughly handled, they lost not their courage, but encamped in sight of the enemy, determined to renew the attack the next morning. The Spaniards, however, though by the custom of Europe they considered themselves as victors, having kept possession of the field, were very differently inclined. Having been accustomed to subdue immense provinces with little or no resistance, they became disgusted with an enterprise, which could not be effected without great fatigue and the loss of much blood, since, in its prosecution they must contend with a bold and independent nation, by whom they were not believed to be immortal. Thus all, by common consent, resolved to abandon this expedition; but they were of various opinions respecting their retreat, some being desirous of returning to Peru, while others wished to form a settlement in the northern provinces, where they had been received with such hospitality.

The first opinion was supported by Almagro, whose mind began to be impressed by the suggestions contained in the letters of his friends. He represented to his soldiers the dangers to which a settlement would be exposed in so warlike a country, and persuaded them to follow him to Cuzco, where he hoped to establish himself either by favour or force. His fatal experience of the mountain road, determined him to take that of the sea-coast, by which he reconducted his troops with very little loss. On his return to Peru in 1538, he took possession by surprise of the ancient capital of that empire; and, after several ineffectual negociations, fought a battle with the brother of Pizarro, by whom he was taken, tried and beheaded, as a disturber of the public peace. His army, having dispersed at their defeat, afterwards reässembled under the appellation of the *soldiers of Chili,* and excited new disturbances in Peru, already sufficiently agitated. Such was the fate of the first expedition against Chili, undertaken by the best body of

European troops that had as yet been collected in those parts. The thirst of riches was the moving spring of the expedition, and the disappointment of their hopes of obtaining them, the cause of its failure.

CHAP. VI.

The Spaniards return to Chili, under the command of Pedro de Valdivia; St. Jago the capital founded; Various encounters with the natives; Conspiracy of the soldiers against the general.

Francis Pizarro having, by the death of his rival, obtained the absolute command of the Spanish possessions in South America, lost not sight of the conquest of Chili, which he conceived might, in any event, prove an important acquisition to him. Among the adventurers who had come to Peru were two officers, commissioned by the court of Spain, under the titles of governor, to attempt this expedition. To the first, called Pedro Sanchez de Hoz, was committed the conquest of the country as far as the river Maúle; and to the other, Carmargo, the remainder to the Archipelago of Chiloé. Pizarro, jealous of these men, under frivolous pretexts refused to confirm the royal nomination, and appointed to this expedition his quartermaster, Pedro de Valdivia, a prudent and active officer, who had gained experience in the Italian war, and, what was a still greater recommendation, was attached to his party, directing him to take de Hoz with him, who was probably more to be feared than his colleague, and to allow him every advantage in the partition of the lands.

This officer having determined to establish a permanent settlement in the country, set out on his march in the year 1540, with 200 Spaniards, and a numerous body of Peruvian auxiliaries, accompanied by some monks, several women, and a great number of European quadrupeds, with every thing requisite for a new colony. He pursued the same route as Almagro, but instructed by the misfortunes of his predecessor, he did not attempt to pass the Andes until midsummer. He entered Chili without incurring any loss, but very different was the reception he experienced from the inhabitants of the northern provinces from that which Almagro had me with. Those people, informed of the fate of Peru, and freed from the submission they professed to owe the Inca, did not consider themselves obliged to respect their invaders.

They, of course, began to attack them upon all sides, with more valour than conduct. Like barbarians in general, incapable of making a common cause with each other, and for a long time accustomed to the yoke of servitude, they attacked them by hordes, or tribes, as they advanced, without that steady firmness that characterizes the valour of a free people. The Spaniards, however, notwithstanding the ill-combined opposition of the natives, traversed the provinces of Copiapo, Coquimbo, Quillota, and Melipilla, and arrived much harassed, but with little loss, at that of Mapocho, now called St. Jago. This province, which is more than six hundred miles distant from the confines of Peru, is one of the most fertile and pleasant in the kingdom. Its name signifies "the land of many people," and from the accounts of the first writers upon Chili, its population corresponded therewith, being extremely numerous. It lies upon the confines of the principal mountain of the Andes, and is 140 miles in circumference. It is watered by the rivers Maypo, Colina, Lampa, and Mapocho, which last divides it into two nearly equal parts, and after pursuing a subterraneous course for the space of five miles, again shows itself with increased copiousness, and discharges its waters into the Maypo. The mountains of Caren, which terminate it on the north, abound with veins of gold, and in that part of the Andes, which bounds it at the east, are found several rich mines of silver.

Valdivia, who had endeavoured to penetrate as far as possible into the country, in order to render it difficult for his soldiers to return to

Peru, determined to make a settlement in this province; which, from its natural advantages, and its remoteness, appeared to him more suitable than any other for the centre of his conquests. With this view, having selected a convenient situation on the left shore of the Mapocho, on the 24th of February 1541, he laid the foundations of the capital of the kingdom, to which, in honour of that apostle, he gave the name of St. Jago. In laying out the city he divided the ground into plats or squares, each containing 4096 toises, a fourth of which he allowed to every citizen, a plan that has been pursued in the foundation of all the other cities. One of these plats, lying upon the great square, he destined for the cathedral and the bishop's palace, which he intended to build there, and the one opposite for that of the government. He likewise appointed a magistracy, according to the forms of Spain, from such of his army as were the best qualified; and to protect the settlement in case of an attack, he constructed a fort upon a hill in the centre of the city, which has since received the name of St. Lucia.

Many have applauded the discernment of Valdivia, in having made choice of this situation for the seat of the capital of the colony. But considering the wants of a great city, it would have been better placed fifteen miles farther to the south, upon the Maypo, a large river which has a direct communication with the sea, and might easily be rendered navigable for ships of the largest size.

This city, however, contains at present (1787) more than forty thousand inhabitants, and is rapidly increasing in population, from its being the seat of government, and from its great commerce supported by the luxury of the wealthy inhabitants.

Meanwhile, the natives saw with a jealous eye this new establishment, and concerted measures, although late, for freeing themselves of these unwelcome intruders. Valdivia, having discovered their intentions in season, confined the chiefs of the conspiracy in the fortress, and suspecting some secret intelligence between them and the neighbouring Promaucians, repaired with sixty horse to the river Cachapoal to watch their movements. But this measure was unnecessary; that fearless people had not the policy to think of uniting with their neighbours in order to secure themselves from the impending danger.

The Mapochinians, taking advantage of the departure of the general, fell upon the colony with inconceivable fury, burned the half-built houses, and assailed the citadel, wherein the inhabitants had taken refuge, upon all sides. While they defended themselves valiantly, a woman, named Inez Suarez, animated with a spirit more cruel than courageous, seized an axe, and beat out the brains of the captive chiefs, who had attempted to break their fetters and regain their liberty.

The battle began at day-break, and was continued till night, while fresh assailants, with a firmness worthy of a better fate, constantly occupied the places of those that were slain. In the meantime, the commander of the fort, Alonzo Monroy, found means during the confusion to dispatch a messenger to Valdivia, who returned immediately, and found the ditch filled with dead bodies, and the enemy, notwithstanding the loss they had sustained, preparing to recommence the combat; but, joining the besieged, he advanced in order of battle against their forces, which were posted on the shore of the Mapocho. There the battle was again renewed, and contested with equal valour, but with great disadvantage on the part of the natives, who were far inferior to their enemies in arms and discipline. The musketry and the horse made a dreadful slaughter among men, who were armed only with bows and slings; but, obstinately contending with even their own impotence, they furiously rushed on to destruction until, wholly enfeebled, and having lost the flower of their youth, they fled dispersed over the plains.

Yet, notwithstanding this defeat, and others of not less importance that they afterwards experienced, they never ceased, for the space of six years, until their utter ruin, to keep the Spaniards closely besieged, attacking them upon every occasion that offered, and cutting off their provisions in such a manner, that they were compelled to subsist upon unwholesome and loathsome viands, and on the little grain which they could raise beneath the cannon of the place. The fertile plains in the neighbourhood had become desert and uncultivated, as the inhabitants had destroyed their crops, and retired to the mountains.

A mode of life so different from what they expected, wearied and disgusted the soldiers, and they finally resolved to kill their general, whom they believed obstinately attached to his plans, and to return to Peru, where they hoped to enjoy more ease and tranquillity. This conspiracy having fortunately been discovered by Valdivia, he began by conciliating the least seditious, which he readily effected, for he possessed great prudence and address. As he had yet only the title of general, he assembled the magistracy of the city, and persuaded them to appoint him governor. Invested with this imposing, though less legitimate character, he punished with death the authors of the conspiracy; but perceiving that this exertion of a precarious authority could not be productive of a durable effect, he prudently applied himself to soothe these turbulent spirits, and to divert their minds from such dangerous schemes, by painting to them in seducing colours the happy prospect that awaited them.

Valdivia had often heard in Peru that the valley of Quillota abounded in mines of gold, and imagined that he might obtain from thence a sufficient quantity to satisfy his soldiers. In consequence, notwithstanding the difficulties with which he was surrounded, he sent thither a detachment of troops, with orders to superintend the digging of this precious metal. The mine that was opened was so rich that its product surpassed their most sanguine hopes. Their present and past sufferings were all buried in oblivion, nor was there one among them who had the remotest wish of quitting the country. The governor, who was naturally enterprising, encouraged by this success, had a frigate built in the mouth of the river Chilè, which traverses the valley, in order more readily to obtain succours from Peru, without which, he was fully sensible, he could not succeed in accomplishing his vast undertakings.

CHAP. VII.

The Copiapins defeat a body of Spaniards; Successful stratagem employed by the Quillotanes; Valdivia receives reinforcements from Peru; He founds the city of Coquimbo, which is destroyed by the natives; The Promaucians form an alliance with the Spaniards; Foundation of the city of Conception.

In the meantime, as the state of affairs was urgent, Valdivia resolved to send to Peru by land two of his captains, Alonzo Monroy and Pedro Miranda, with six companions, whose spurs, bits, and stirrups he directed to be made of gold, hoping to entice, by this proof of the opulence of the country, his fellow-citizens to come to his assistance. These messengers, although escorted by thirty men on horseback, who were ordered to accompany them to the borders of Chili, were attacked and defeated by a hundred archers of Copiapo, commanded by Cotco, an officer of the ulmen of that province. Of the whole band none escaped with life but the two officers, Monroy and Miranda, who were brought covered with wounds before the ulmen.

Whilst that prince, who had resolved to put them to death as enemies of the country, was deliberating on the mode, the ulmena, or princess, his wife, moved with compassion for their situation, interceded with her husband for their lives, and having obtained her request, unbound them with her own hands, tenderly dressed their wounds, and treated them like brothers. When they were fully recovered, she desired them to teach her son the art of riding, as several of the horses had been taken alive in the defeat. The two Spaniards readily consented to her request, hoping to avail themselves of this opportunity to recover their liberty. But the means they took to effect this were marked with an act of ingratitude to their benefactress, of so much the deeper dye, as, from their not being strictly guarded, such an expedient was unnecessary.

As the young prince was one day riding between them, escorted by his archers, and preceded by an officer armed with a lance, Monroy suddenly attacked him with a poniard, which he carried about him, and brought him to the ground, with two or three mortal wounds; Miranda at the same time wresting the lance from the officer, they forced their way through the guards who were thrown into confusion by such an unexpected event. As they were well mounted they easily escaped pursuit, and taking their way through the desarts of Peru, arrived at Cuzco, the residence at that time of Vasca de Castro, who had succeeded to the government upon the death of Pizarro, cruelly assassinated by the partizans of Almagro.

On being informed of the critical situation of Chili, Castro immediately dispatched a considerable number of recruits by land under the command of Monroy, who had the good fortune to conceal his march from the Copiapins; and at the same time gave directions to Juan Batista Pastene, a noble Genoese, to proceed thither by sea with a still greater number. Valdivia, on receiving these two reinforcements, which arrived nearly at the same time, began to carry his great designs into execution. As he had been solicitous from the first to have a complete knowledge of the sea-coast, he ordered Pastene to explore it, and note the situation of the most important parts and places, as far as the straits of Magellan. On his return from this expedition, he sent him back to Peru for new recruits, as, since the affair of Copiapo, the natives became daily more bold and enterprising.

Among others, the Quillotanes had, a little time before, massacred all the soldiers employed in the mines. For this purpose they employed the following stratagem: one of the neighbouring Indians brought to the commander, Gonzalo

Rios, a pot full of gold, telling him that he had found a great quantity of it in a certain district of the country. Upon this information, all were impatient to proceed thither to participate in the imagined treasure. As they arrived tumultuously at the place described, they fell into an ambuscade, from whence none escaped except the imprudent commander and a negro, who saved themselves by the superior excellence of their horses. The frigate that was then finished was also destroyed, being burned together with the arsenal.

Valdivia, on receiving advice of this disaster, hastened thither with his troops, and having revenged, as far as in his power, the death of his soldiers, built a fort to protect the miners. Being afterwards reinforced with three hundred men from Peru, under the command of Francis Villagran and Christopher Escobar, he became sensible of the necessity of establishing a settlement in the northern part of the kingdom, that might serve as a place of arms, and a protection for the convoys that should come that way. For this purpose he made choice of a beautiful plain at the mouth of the river Coquimbo, which forms a good harbour, where, in 1544, he founded a city called by him Serena, in honour of the place of his birth; it is not, however, known at present by this appellation, except in geographical treatises, the country name having prevailed, as is the case with all the other European settlements in Chili.

In the ensuing year he began to think of extending his conquests, and for that purpose proceeded into the country of the Promaucians. Contemporary writers have not made mention of any battle that was fought upon this occasion; but it is not to be supposed that this valiant people who had with so much glory repulsed the armies of the Inca and of Almagro, would have allowed him, without opposition, to violate their territory. It is, however, highly probable, that Valdivia, in the frequent incursions which he made upon their frontiers, had the art to persuade them to unite with him against the other Chilians by seducing promises; a mean that has been employed by all political conquerors, who have ever availed themselves of the aid of barbarians to conquer barbarians, in order, finally, to subjugate the whole. In fact, the Spanish armies have ever since that period been strengthened by Promaucian auxiliaries, from whence has sprung that rooted antipathy, which the Araucanians preserve against the residue of that nation.

In the course of the year 1546, Valdivia, having passed the Maúle, proceeded in his career of victory to the river Itata. While encamped there in a place called *Quilacura*, he was attacked at night by a body of the natives, who destroyed many of his horses, and put him in imminent hazard of experiencing a total rout. His loss upon this occasion must have been very considerable, since he afterwards relinquished his plan of proceeding farther, and returned to St. Jago. Perceiving that his expected succours from Peru did not arrive, he resolved to go thither in person, hoping, by means of his activity and address, to recruit a body of troops sufficient for the subjugation of the southern provinces, which had shown themselves the most warlike.

As he was on the eve of his departure, in the year 1547, Pastenes arrived, but without any men, and brought news of the civil war that had broken out between the conquerors of the empire of the Incas. Nevertheless, persuaded that he might reap an advantage from these revolutions, he set sail with Pastene for Peru, taking with him a great quantity of gold. On his arrival, he served in quality of quarter-master general in the famous battle that decided the fate of Gonzalo Pizarro. Gasca, the president, who under the royal standard, had gained the victory, pleased with the service rendered him upon this occasion by Valdivia, confirmed him in his office of governor, and furnishing him with an abundance of military stores, sent him back to Chili, with two ships filled with those seditious adventurers, of whom he was glad of an opportunity to be disembarrassed.

In the meantime, Pedro de Hoz, who, as we have already observed, had been deprived of that share in the conquest that had been granted him by the court, and who had imprudently placed himself in the power of his rival, was accused of wishing to usurp the government. Whether this accusation was well founded, or whether it was merely a pretext to get rid of him, he was, in 1548, publicly beheaded by order of Francis Villagran, who acted as governor in the absence of Valdivia, whom he probably thought to please by thus freeing him from a dangerous competitor, if he had not even received private instructions relative to the business.

The Copiapins, eager to revenge the murder of their prince, killed about the same time forty Spaniards, who had been detached from several squadrons, and were proceeding from Peru to Chili; and the Coquimbanes, instigated by their persuasions, massacred all the inhabitants of the colony lately founded in their territory, razing the city to its foundation. Francis Aguirre was immediately ordered there, and had several encounters with them with various success. In 1549 he rebuilt the city in a more advantageous situation; its inhabitants claim him as their founder, and the most distinguished of them boast themselves as his descendants.

After a contest of nine years, and almost incredible fatigues, Valdivia, believing himself well established in that part of Chili which was under the dominion of the Peruvians, distributed the land among his soldiers, assigning to each, under the title of commandery, a considerable portion, with the inhabitants living thereon, according to the baneful feudal system of Europe. By this means, having quieted the restless ambition of his companions, he set out anew on his march for the southern provinces, with a respectable army of Spanish and Promaucian troops.

After a journey of 240 miles, he arrived, without encountering many obstacles, at the bay of Penco, which had been already explored by Pastene, where, on the 5th of October, 1550, he founded a third city, called Conception.*

The situation of this place was very advantageous for commerce from the excellence of its harbour, but, from the lowness of the ground, was exposed in earthquakes to inundations of the sea. The bay, which is in extent from east to west six miles, and nine from north to south, is defended from the sea by a pleasant island called Quiriquina; the entrance upon the north side, which is half a league broad, is the only one of sufficient depth to admit ships of the line, the other being narrow, and only navigable for small vessels. The soil, under the influence of a favourable climate, produces an abundance of timber, minerals, excellent wine, and all the other necessaries of life, and the sea and rivers great quantities of delicate fish.

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* This city was destroyed by the earthquakes and inundations of the sea, that occurred on the 8th of July, 1730, and the 24th of May, 1751. For this reason the inhabitants established themselves, on the 24th of November, 1764, in the valley of Mocha, three leagues south of Penco, between the rivers Andalien and Bio-bio, where they founded New Conception. The harbour is situated in the middle of the bay called Talgacuano, a little more than two leagues west of Mocha; a fort is all the building that is now left at Penco.

The adjacent tribes, perceiving the intention of the Spaniards to occupy this important post, gave information of it to their neighbours and friends, the Araucanians, who, forseeing that it would not be long before the storm would burst upon their own country, resolved to succour their distressed allies, in order to secure themselves. But before I proceed to relate the events of this war, I have thought proper to give some account of the character and manners of that warlike people, who have hitherto, with incredible valour, opposed the overwhelming torrent of Spanish conquest, and from henceforward will furnish all the materials of our history.

THE
CIVIL HISTORY
OF
CHILI.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

Local Situation, Character, Dress, and Dwellings of the Araucanians.

THE Araucanians inhabit that delightful country situated between the rivers Bio-bio and Valdivia, and between the Andes and the sea, extending from 36. 44. to 39. 50. degrees of south latitude. They derive their appellation of Araucanians from the province of Arauco, which, though the smallest in their territory, has, like Holland, given its name to the whole nation, either from its having been the first to unite with the neighbouring provinces, or from having at some remote period reduced them under its dominion. This people, ever enthusiastically attached to their independence, pride themselves in being called *Auca*,* which signifies frank or free, and those Spaniards, who had left the army in the Netherlands to serve in Chili, gave to this country the name of Araucanian Flanders, or the Invincible State, and some of them have even had the magnanimity to celebrate in epic poetry the exploits of a people who, to preserve their independence, have shed such torrents of Spanish blood.

The Araucanians, although they do not exceed the ordinary height of the human species, are in general muscular, robust, well proportioned, and of a martial appearance. It is very unusual to find among them any person who is crooked or deformed, not from their pursuing, as some have supposed, the cruel custom of the ancient Spartans, in suffocating such unfortunate children, but because they leave to nature the care of forming them, without obstructing her operations by the improper application of bandages and stays. Their complexion, with the exception of the Boroanes, who, as I have already observed, are fair and ruddy, is of a reddish brown, but clearer than that of the other Americans. They have round faces, small animated eyes full of expression, a nose rather flat, a handsome mouth, even and white teeth, muscular and well shaped legs, and small flat feet. Like the Tartars, they have scarce any beard, and the smallest hair is never to be discerned on their faces; from the care they take to pluck out the little that appears; they esteem it very impolite to have a beard, calling the Europeans, by way of reproach, *the long beards*. The same attention is paid to removing it from their bodies, where its growth is more abundant; that of their heads is thick and black, but rather coarse; they permit it to grow to a great length, and wind it in tresses around their heads; of this they are as proud and careful as they are averse to beards, nor could a greater affront be offered them than to cut it off. Their women are delicately formed, and many of them, especially among the Boroanes, are very handsome.

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* According to Falkner the missionary, *Aucaes* is a name of reproach, given them by the Spaniards, and signifying rebels or wild-men—*aucani* is to rebel, to make a riot—*auca-cahual* (cevallo) is a wild horse.—*E. E.*

Possessed of great strength of constitution, and unincumbered with the cares that disturb civilized society, they are not subject, except at a very advanced period of life, to the infirmities attendant upon old age. They rarely begin to be grey before they are sixty or seventy, and are not bald or wrinkled until eighty. They are generally longer lived than the Spaniards, and many are to be met with whose age exceeds a hundred; and, to the latest period of their lives, they retain their sight, teeth, and memory, unimpaired.

Their moral qualities are proportionate to their physical endowments; they are intrepid, animated, ardent, patient in enduring fatigue, ever ready to sacrifice their lives in the service of their country, enthusiastic lovers of liberty, which they consider as an essential constituent of their existence, jealous of their honour, courteous, hospitable, faithful to their engagements, grateful for services rendered them, and generous and humane towards the vanquished. But these noble qualities are obscured by the vices inseparable from the half-savage state of life which they lead, unrefined by literature or cultivation; these are drunkenness, debauchery, presumption, and a haughty contempt for all other nations. Were the civil manners and innocent improvements of Europe introduced among them, they would soon become a people deserving of universal esteem; but, under the present system, this happy change appears impossible to be effected.

All those nations whom either the nature of the climate or a sense of decency has induced to clothe themselves, have made use at first of loose garments, as being the most easily made. But the Araucanians, from their great attachment to war, which they consider as the only true source of glory, have adopted the short garment, as the best suited to martial conflicts. This dress is made of wool, as was that of the Greeks and

Romans, and consists of a shirt, a vest, a pair of short close breeches, and a cloak in form of a scapulary, with an opening in the middle for the head, made full and long so as to cover the hands and descend to the knees. This cloak is called *poncho,* and is much more commodious than our mantles, as it leaves the arms at liberty, and may be thrown over the shoulder at pleasure; it is also a better protection from the wind and the rain, and more convenient for riding on horseback, for which reason it is commonly worn not only by the Spaniards in Chili, but by those of Peru and Paraguay.

The shirt, vest, and breeches, are always of a greenish blue or turquois, which is the favourite colour of the nation, as red is that of the Tartars. The *poncho* is also, among persons of inferior condition, of a greenish blue, but those of the higher classes wear it of different colours, either white, red, or blue, with stripes a span broad, on which are wrought, with much skill, figures of flowers and animals in various colours, and the border is ornamented with a handsome fringe. Some of these *ponchos* are of so fine and elegant a texture as to be sold for a hundred and even a hundred and fifty dollars.

The Araucanians make use of neither turbans nor hats, but wear upon their heads a bandage of embroidered wool, in the form of the ancient diadem. This, whenever they salute, they raise a little, as a mark of courtesy, and on going to war ornament it with a number of beautiful plumes. They also wear around the body a long woollen girdle, or sash, handsomely wrought. Persons of rank wear woollen boots of various colours, and leather sandals, called *chelle,* but the common people always go bare-footed.

The women are clad with much modesty and simplicity. Their dress is entirely of wool, and, agreeable to the national taste, of a greenish blue colour. It consists of a tunic, a girdle, and a short cloak, called *ichella,* which is fastened before with a silver buckle. The tunic, called *chiamal,* is long, and descends to the feet, it is without sleeves, and is fastened upon the shoulder by silver brooches or buckles. This dress, sanctioned by custom, is never varied ; but, to gratify their love of finery, they adorn themselves with all those trinkets which caprice or vanity suggests. They divide their hair into several tresses, which float in graceful negligence over their shoulders, and decorate their heads with a species of false emerald, called *glianca,* held by them in high estimation. Their necklaces and bracelets are of glass, and their ear-rings, which are square, of silver ; they have rings upon each finger, the greater part of which are of silver. It is calculated that more than a hundred thousand marks of this metal are employed in these female ornaments, since they are worn even by the poorest class.

I have already given some account of the dwellings of the ancient Chilians; the Araucanians, tenacious, as are all nations not corrupted by luxury, of the customs of their country, have made no change in their mode of building. But, as they are almost all polygamists, the size of their houses is proportioned to the number of women they can maintain. The interior of these houses is very simple, the luxury of convenience, splendour, and show, is altogether unknown in them, and necessity alone is consulted in the selection of their furniture.

They never form towns, but live in scattered villages or hamlets, on the banks of rivers, or in plains that are easily irrigated. Their local attachments are strong, each family preferring to live upon the land inherited from its ancestors, which they cultivate sufficiently for their subsistence. The genius of this haughty people, in which the savage still predominates, will not permit them to live in walled cities, which they consider as a mark of servitude.

CHAP. II.

Division of the Araucanian State; Its political Form and civil Institutions.

Although in their settlements the Araucanians are wanting in regularity, that is by no means the case in the political division of their state, which is regulated with much intelligence. They have divided it from north to south into four *uthal-mapus,* or parallel tetrarchates, that are nearly equal, to which they give the names of *lauquen-mapu,* the maritime country; *lelbun-mapu,* the plain country; *inapire-mapu,* the country at the foot of the Andes; and *pire-mapu,* or that of the Andes. Each *Uthalmapu* is divided into five *aillaregues,* or provinces; and each aillaregue into nine regues, or counties.

The maritime country comprehends the provinces of Arauco, Tucapel, Illicura, Boroa, and Nagtolten; the country of the plain includes those of Encol, Puren, Repocura, Maquegua, and Mariquina: that at the foot of the Andes contains Marven, Colhue, Chacaico, Quecheregua, and Guanagua; and in that of the Andes is included all the valleys of the Cordilleras, situated within the limits already mentioned, which are inhabited by the Puelches.* These mountaineers, who were formerly a distinct nation in alliance with the Araucanians, are now united under their government, and have the same magistrates.

This division, which discovers a certain degree of refinement in their political administration, is of a date anterior to the arrival of the Spaniards, and serves as a basis for the civil government of the Araucanians, which is aristocratic as that of all other barbarous nations has been. This species of republic consists of three orders of nobility, each subordinate to the other, the *Toquis,* the *Apo-Ulmenes,* and the *Ulmenes,* all of whom have their respective vassals. The Toquis, who may be styled tetrarchs, are four in number, and preside over the uthal-mapus. The appellation of Toqui is derived from the verb toquin, which signifies to judge or command; they are independent of each other, but confederated for the public welfare. The Apo-Ulmenes, or Arch-Ulmenes, govern the provinces under their respective Toquis. The Ulmenes, who are the prefects of the *regues,* or counties, are dependant upon the Apo-Ulmenes. This dependance, however, is confined almost entirely to military affairs. Although the Ulmenes are the lowest in the scale of the Araucanian aristocracy, the superior ranks, generally speaking, are comprehended under the same title, which is equivalent to that of Cacique.

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* In the second and third articles of the treaty of Lonquilmo, made in the year 1784, the limits of each Uthalmapu are expressly defined, and its districts marked out. It declares to be appertaining to that of the Cordilleras, the Huilliches of Changolo, those of Gayolto and Rucachoroy to the south, the Puelches and Indian Pampas to the north, from Malalque and the frontiers of Mendoza to the Mamilmapu in the Pampas of Buenos Ayres, the whole forming a corporate body with the Puelches and Pehuenches of Maule, Chillan, and Antuco. So that at present, in case of an infraction of the treaty, it may easily be known what Uthalmapu is to make satisfaction.

The discriminative badge of the Toqui is a species of battle-axe, made of porphyry or marble. The Apo-Ulmenes, and the Ulmenes, carry staves with silver heads, but the first by way of distinction have a ring of the same metal around the middle of their staves. All these dignities are hereditary in the male line, and proceed in the order of primogeniture. Thus have the dukes, the counts, and marquisses of the military aristocracy of the north been established, from time immemorial, under different names, in a corner of South America.

With its resemblance to the feudal system, this government contains also almost all its defects. The Toqui possesses but the shadow of sovereign authority. The triple power that constitutes it, is vested in the great body of the nobility, who decide every important question, in the manner of the ancient Germans, in a general diet, which is called *Butacoyog* or *Aucacoyog*, the great council, or council of the Araucanians. This assembly is usually held in some large plain, where they combine the pleasures of the table with their public deliberations.

Their code of laws, which is traditionary, is denominated *Admapu*, that is to say, the customs of the country. In reality these laws are nothing more than primordial usages, or tacit conventions that have been established among them, as was originally the case with almost all the laws of other nations; they have, consequently, all the defects peculiar to such systems, since, as they are not written, they can neither be very compendious, nor made sufficiently public.

The clearest and most explicit of their political and fundamental laws are those that regulate the limits of each authority; the order of succession in the Toquiates and in the Ulminates, the confederation of the four Tetrarchates, the choice and the power of the commanders in chief in time of war, and the right of convoking the general diets, which is the privilege of the Toquis; all these laws have for their object the preservation of liberty and the established form of government. According to them, two or more states cannot be held under the rule of the same chief. Whenever the male branch of the reigning family becomes extinct, the vassals recover their natural right of electing their own chief from that family which is most pleasing to them. But before he is installed, he must be presented to the Toqui of their Uthalmapu, who gives notice of his election, in order that the new chief may be acknowledged and respected by all in that quality.

The subjects are not, as under the feudal government, liable to a levy, or to any kind of personal service, except in time of war. Neither are they obliged to pay any contributions to their chiefs, who must subsist themselves by means of their own property. They respect them, however, as their superiors, or rather as the first among their equals ; they also attend to their decisions, and escort them whenever they go out of the state. These chiefs, elated with their authority, would gladly extend its limits, and govern as absolute masters ; but the people, who cannot endure despotism, oppose their pretensions, and compel them to keep within the bounds prescribed by their customs.

The civil laws of a society whose manners are simple, and interests but little complicated, cannot be very numerous. The Araucanians have but a few ; these, however, would be sufficient for their state of life, if they were more respected and less arbitrary. Their system of criminal jurisprudence, in a particular manner, is very imperfect. The offences that are deemed deserving of capital punishment are, treachery, intentional homicide, adultery, the robbery of any valuable article, and witchcraft. Nevertheless, those found guilty of homicide can screen themselves from punishment by a composition with the relations of the murdered. Husbands and fathers are not subject to any punishment for killing their wives or children, as they are declared, by their laws, to be the natural masters of their lives. Those accused of sorcery, a crime only known in countries involved in ignorance, are first tortured by fire, in order to make them discover their accomplices, and then stabbed with daggers.

Other crimes of less importance are punished by retaliation, which is much in use among them, under the name of *thaulonco.* Justice is administered in a tumultuous and irregular manner, and without any of those preliminary formalities, for the most part useless, that are observed among civilized nations. The criminal who is convicted of a capital offence, is immediately put to death, according to the military custom, without first being suffered to rot in prison, a mode of confinement unknown to the Araucanians. It was, however, a little before my leaving Chili, introduced into Tucapel, the seat of the government of Lauquen-mapu, by *Cathicura,* the Toqui of that district; but, I know not the success of this experiment, which was at first very ill received by his subjects.

The Ulmenes are the lawful judges of their vassals, and for this reason their authority is less precarious. The unconquerable pride of this people prevents them from adopting the wise measures of public justice; they alone possess some general and vague ideas upon the principles of political union, whence the executive power being without force, distributive justice is ill administered, or entirely abandoned to the caprice of individuals. The injured family often assumes the right of pursuing the aggressor or his relations, and of punishing them. From this abuse are derived the denominations and distinctions, so much used in their jurisprudence, of *genguerin, genguman, genla,* &c. denoting, the principal connections of the aggressor, of the injured, or the deceased, who are supposed to be authorized, by the laws of nature, to support by force the rights of their relatives.

A system of judicial proceeding so irregular, and apparently so incompatible with the existence of any kind of civil society, becomes the constant source of disorders entirely hostile to the primary object of all good government, public and private security. When those who are at enmity have a considerable number of adherents, they mutually make incursions upon each others possessions, where they destroy or burn all that they cannot carry off. These private quarrels, called *malocas,* resemble much the feuds of the ancient

Germans, and are very dreadful when the Ulmenes are concerned, in which case they become real civil wars. But it must be acknowledged that they are generally unaccompanied with the effusion of blood, and are confined to pillage alone. This people, notwithstanding their propensity to violence, rarely employ arms in their private quarrels, but decide them with the fist or with the club.

CHAP. III.

Military System of the Araucanians; their Arms and Mode of making War.

The military government of the Araucanians is not only more rational and better systematized than the civil, but in some respects appears to be superior to the genius of an uncultivated nation. Whenever the grand council determines to go to war, they proceed immediately to the election of a commander in chief, to which the Toquis have the first claim, as being the hereditary generals or stadtholders of the republic. If neither of them is deemed qualified for the command, dismissing all regard for rank, they entrust it to the most deserving of the Ulmenes, or even the officers of the common class, as the talents necessary for this important station are what alone are required. In consequence, *Vilumilla,* a man of low origin, commanded the Araucanian army with much honour in the war of 1722; and *Curignanca,* the younger son of an Ulmen of the province of Encol, in that which terminated in 1773.

On accepting his appointment, the new general assumes the title of Toqui, and the stone hatchet in token of supreme command, at which time the native Toquis lay aside theirs, it not being lawful for them to carry them during the government of this dictator. They likewise, sacrificing private ambition to the public good, take the oaths of obedience and fealty to him, together with the other Ulmenes. Even the people, who in peace shew themselves repugnant to all subordination, are then prompt to obey, and submissive to the will of their military sovereign. He cannot, however, put any one to death without the consent of the principal officers of his army, but as these are of his own appointment, his orders may be considered as absolute.

From the arrival of the Spaniards in the country to the present time, it is observable that all the Toquis who have been appointed in time of war were natives of the provinces of Arauco, of Tucapel, of Encol, or of Puren. Whether this partiality is owing to some superstitious notion, or rather to some ancient law or agreement, I am unable to determine; it appears, however, to be repugnant to the principles of sound policy, as it is very rare for the component parts of a state to maintain themselves long in a state of union, when they do not all participate equally in the advantages of the government. But it is a peculiarity worthy of admiration, that this discrimination has hitherto produced no division among them.

One of the first measures of the national council, after having decided upon war, is to dispatch certain messengers or expresses, called *guerquenis*, to the confederate tribes, and even to those Indians who live among the Spaniards, to inform the first of the steps that have been taken, and to request the others to make a common cause with their countrymen. The credentials of these envoys are some small arrows tied together with a red string, the symbol of blood. But if hostilities are actually commenced, the finger of a slain enemy is joined to the arrows. This embassy, called *pulchitum,* to run the arrow, is performed with such secrecy and expedition in the Spanish settlements, that the messengers are rarely discovered.

The Toqui directs what number of soldiers are to be furnished by each Uthalmapu ; the Tetrarchs in their turn regulate the contingencies of the Apo-Ulmenes, and these last apportion them among their respective Ulmenes. Every Araucanian is born a soldier. All are ready to proffer their services for war, so that there is no difficulty in raising an army, which usually consists of five or six thousand men, besides the *corps de reserve,* which are kept in readiness for particular occasions, or to replace those killed in battle.

The commander in chief appoints his Vice Toqui, or lieutenant-general, and the other officers of his staff, who in their turn nominate their subaltern officers. By this method, harmony and subordination are maintained between the respective commanders. The Vice Toqui is almost always selected from among the Puelches, in order to satisfy that valiant tribe, who, as I have already observed, amount to the fourth part of the population of the state. Nor have the Araucanians ever had cause to repent of this selection. During the last war, one of these mountaineers, Leviantu, lieutenant-general of Curignancu, harassed the Spaniards greatly, and gave their troops constant employment.

The army is at present composed of infantry and of horse. It originally consisted entirely of the former, but in their first battles with the Spaniards, perceiving the great advantage which their enemies derived from their cavalry, they soon began to discipline themselves in the same manner. Their first care was to procure a good breed of horses, which in a short time became so numerous, that in the year 1568, seventeen years after their first opposing the Spanish arms, they were able to furnish several squadrons, and in the year 1585, the cavalry was first regularly organized by the Toqui *Cadeguala*.

The infantry, which they call *namuntulinco*, is divided into regiments and companies; each regiment consists of one thousand men, and contains ten companies of one hundred. The cavalry is divided in the like manner, but the number of horse is not always the same. They have all their particular standards, but each bears a star, which is the national device. The soldiers are not clothed in uniform, according to the European custom, but all wear beneath their usual dress cuirasses of leather, hardened by a peculiar mode of dressing; their shields and helmets are also made of the same material.

The cavalry is armed with swords and lances; the infantry with pikes or clubs pointed with iron. They formerly employed bows and slings, in the use of which they were very dexterous, but since the arrival of the Spaniards, they have almost entirely relinquished them, experience having taught them to avoid the destructive effect of their musketry, by immediately closing in and fighting hand to hand with the enemy.

The art of making gun-powder is as yet unknown to these warlike people. Either they regard it but little, or, what is more probable, those Spaniards with whom they have sometimes traded, would not, if they were themselves acquainted with it, communicate to them the composition. It is, however, believed that they made use at first of the greatest exertions to obtain the knowledge of this secret so important in the present system of warfare. The discovery of powder is well ascertained to have been owing more to accident than to the efforts of human ingenuity, although some pretend that it was known in China long before the period that it was discovered in Europe. The inhabitants of the country relate the following anecdote respecting gun-powder, which, however fabulous and absurd it may appear, is generally credited. The Araucanians on first seeing negroes with the Spaniards, imagined that they prepared from them the powder which they used. Soon after, having taken one of those unfortunate men, they first covered him with stripes from head to foot, and afterwards burned him to a coal, in order, by reducing it to powder, to obtain the so much wished-for secret, but were soon convinced of the fallacy of their chymical principles. In their various encounters with the Spaniards, they occasionally took from them powder and muskets, which in the subsequent battles they employed with as much skill as if they had been for a long time accustomed to them, but as soon as the powder was expended they resumed their former arms.

The Dutch, when they took the city of Valdivia, attempted to form an alliance with them, and promised to supply them with powder and cannon, but, as they distrusted all the Europeans, they would not listen to their proposal.

Before setting out on his expedition, the general assigns three days for consultation, in order to consider anew the plans of the campaign, and to adopt the best expedients. Upon this occasion, every one has the liberty of offering his opinion, if he deems it conducive to the public welfare. In the meantime the general consults in secret with the officers of his staff, upon the plans that he has formed, and the means of remedying sinister events.

After this, the army commences its march to the sound of drums, being always preceded by several advanced parties, in order to avoid a surprise. The infantry, as well as cavalry, proceed on horseback, but on coming to action they immediately dismount, and form themselves into their respective companies. Each soldier is obliged to bring from home not only his arms but his supply of provisions, according to the custom of the Romans. As all are liable to military service, so no one in particular is obliged to contribute to the support of the army. The provision consists in a small sack of parched meal for each, which, diluted with water, furnishes sufficient food for them until they are enabled to live at free quarters upon the enemy. By adopting this mode, the troops, being free and unincumbered with baggage, move with greater celerity, and never lose an opportunity of attacking the enemy with advantage, or of making, when necessary, a rapid retreat. Frederick the Great, of Prussia, and the celebrated Marshal Saxe, attempted to restore this ancient method of provisioning armies; but the European soldiery, accustomed to a different mode of living, were not willing to return to that state of primitive simplicity.

The Araucanian troops are extremely vigilant; they adopt at night the most prudent measures, by encamping in secure and advantageous positions. On these occasions sentinels are placed upon all sides, and in presence of the enemy they redouble their precautions, and strengthen the posts they occupy with strong entrenchments. Every soldier during night is obliged, in order to prove his vigilance, to keep up a fire before his tent: the great number of these fires serve to deceive the enemy, and have at a distance a very singular appearance.

They are besides well acquainted with the art of constructing military works, and of protecting themselves with deep ditches, which they guard with branches of thorn, and strew caltrops in the environs to repress the incursions of the enemy's horse. In short, there are few military stratagems that they do not employ at a proper time and place. The celebrated Spanish poet, who fought against them under Don Garcia, expresses his admiration at meeting with troops so well disciplined, and possessing such perfection in tactics, which, to use his expressions, the most celebrated nations in the world have not been able to attain without great trouble, and after a long course of years.

When an action becomes necessary, they separate the cavalry into two wings, and place the infantry in the centre, divided into several battalions, the files being composed alternately of pikemen and soldiers armed with clubs, in such a manner that between every pike a club is always to be found. The Vice Toqui has the command of the right wing, and that of the left is committed to an experienced officer. The Toqui is present every where as occasion may require, and exhorts his men with much eloquence to fight valiantly for their liberties. But of this there appears little need, as the soldiers manifest such ardour, that their officers have much more difficulty in restraining their impetuosity than in exciting them to action. Fully impressed with the opinion, that to die in battle is the greatest honour that a man can acquire in this life, on the signal for combat being given, they advance desperately, shouting in a terrific manner, and notwithstanding the slaughter made among them by the cannon, endeavour to penetrate the centre of the enemy. Though they know full well that the first ranks will be exposed to almost certain destruction, they eagerly contend with each other for these posts of honour, or to serve as leaders of the files. As soon as the first line is cut down, the second occupies its place, and then the third, until they finally succeed in breaking the front ranks of the enemy. In the midst of their fury they nevertheless preserve the strictest order, and perform all the evolutions directed by their officers. The most terrible of them are the club-bearers, who, like so many Herculeses, destroy with their iron-pointed maces all they meet in their way.*

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* The people of Chili, the bravest and most active among the Americans, ought to be excepted from this observation; they attack their enemies in the open field; their troops are disposed in regular order, and their battalions advance to action not only with courage but with discipline. The North Americans, although many of them have substituted the fire-arms of Europe in place of their bows and arrows, are notwithstanding still attached to their ancient manner of making war, and carry it on according to their own system; but the Chilians resemble the warlike nations of Europe and Asia in their military operations.—*Robertson's History of America*, vol. ii.

CHAP. IV.

Division of the Spoil; Sacrifice after the War; Congress of Peace.

The spoils of war are divided among those who have had the good fortune to take them. But when the capture has been general, they are distributed among the whole in equal parts, called *reg*, so that no preference is shown to any of the officers, nor even to the Toqui. The prisoners, according to the custom of all barbarous nations, are made slaves until they are exchanged or ransomed.

According to the admapu, one of these unfortunate men must be sacrificed to the manes of the soldiers killed in the war. This cruel law, traces of which are to be found in the annals of almost all nations, is nevertheless very rarely put in practice, but one or two instances having occurred in the space of nearly two hundred years. The Araucanians are sensible to the dictates of compassion, although the contrary is alleged by certain writers, who having assumed as an incontrovertible principle that they never give quarter to their enemies, afterwards contradict themselves in mentioning the great number of Spanish prisoners who have either been exchanged or ransomed after the war. The sacrifice abovementioned, called *pruloncon,* or the dance of the dead, is performed in the following manner:

The officers, surrounded by the soldiers, form a circle, in the centre of which, in the midst of four poniards, representing the four Uthalmapus, is placed the official axe of the Toqui. The unfortunate prisoner, as a mark of ignominy, is then led in upon a horse deprived of his ears and tail, and placed near the axe, with his face turned towards his country. They afterwards give him a handful of small sticks and a sharp stake, with which they oblige him to dig a hole in the ground, in which they order him to cast the sticks one by one, repeating the names of the principal warriors of his country, while at the same time the surrounding soldiers load these abhorred names with the bitterest execrations. He is then ordered to cover the hole, as if to bury therein the reputation and valour of their enemies whom he has named. After this ceremony, the Toqui, or one of his bravest companions, to whom he relinquishes the honour of the execution, dashes out the brains of the prisoner with a club. The heart is immediately taken out by two attendants and presented palpitating to the general, who sucks a little of the blood, and passes it to his officers, who repeat in succession the same ceremony; in the meantime he fumigates with tobacco-smoke from his pipe the four cardinal points of the circle. The soldiers strip the flesh from the bones, and make of them flutes; then cutting off the head, carry it around upon a pike amidst the acclamations of the multitude, while, stamping in measured pace, they thunder out their dreadful war-song, accompanied by the mournful sound of these horrid instruments. This barbarous festival is terminated by applying to the mangled body the head of a sheep, which is succeeded by a scene of riot and intoxication. If the skull should not be broken by the blows of the club, they make of it a cup called *ralilonco*, which they use in their banquets in the manner of the ancient Scythians and Goths.

On the termination of a war, a congress is assembled, called by the Spaniards *parlamento*, and the Araucanians *huincacoyag*. This is usually held in a delightful plain between the rivers Biobio and Duqueco, on the confines of both territories, whither the Spanish President and the Araucanian Toqui repair with the attendants agreed upon in the preliminary articles. The four Uthalmapus send at the same time four deputies, who are usually the Tetrarchs themselves, and whose unanimous consent is requisite for the establishment and ratification of peace. In the congress that was held after the war of 1723, were present one hundred and thirty Ulmenes with their attendants, who amounted to the number of two thousand men, and the camps of the negociating parties were separated by an interval of two miles.

The conference is commenced with many compliments upon either side, and in token of future friendship, they bind the staves of the Ulmenes with that of the Spanish president together, and place them in the midst of the assembly; an Araucanian orator then presents a branch of cinnamon, which is with them the token of peace, and placing his left hand upon the bundle of staves, makes in the Chilian language a pertinent harangue upon the causes that produced the war, and the most eligible means of preserving harmony between the two nations. He then proceeds with much eloquence and energy to point out the losses and miseries occasioned by war, and the advantages that are derived from peace, to which he exhorts the chiefs of either party in a pathetic peroration. An interpreter then explains the precise meaning of all that the Araucanian has said. The Spanish president replies in another speech adapted to the subject, which is interpreted in the same manner. The articles of the treaty are then agreed upon, and are ratified by a sacrifice of several Chilihueques, or Chilian camels, which the Araucanians immolate for the happy continuance of the peace. After this the president dines at the same table with the Toqui and the principal Ulmenes, to whom he makes the customary presents in the name of his sovereign.*

This parliament is renewed as often as a new president is sent from Spain to Chili, and cannot possibly be dispensed with, as in that case the Araucanians, imagining themselves despised, would, without any other cause, commence war. For this reason, there is always a considerable sum ready in the royal treasury for the expenses necessary upon these occasions. On the arrival of a new president, an envoy, called the national commissary, is dispatched in his name to the four

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* In those countries the Araucanians are the most usual, most intrepid, and most irreconcileable enemies of Spain. They are the only people of the New World who have ventured to fight with the Europeans in the open field, and who employ the sling in order to hurl death at a distance upon their enemies. They have even the intrepidity to attack the best fortified posts. As these Americans are not embarrassed in making war, they are not apprehensive of its duration, and hold it as a principle never to sue for peace, the first overtures for which are always made by the Spaniards. When these are favourably received, a conference is held. The governor of Chili and the Indian general, accompanied by the most distinguished officers of either party, regulate amidst the festivity of the table the terms of the agreement. The frontier was formerly the theatre of these assemblies; but the two last were held in the capital of the colony. The savages have even consented to allow the residence of deputies among them, entrusted with the charge of maintaining harmony between the two nations.—*Raynal's History of the Indies.*

Uthalmapus, to invite the Toquis and the other Ulmenes to meet him at the place appointed, for the purpose of becoming acquainted with each other, and to confirm the friendship contracted with his predecessors. In this convention, nearly the same ceremonies are practised as are made use of on ratifying a treaty of peace. The Ulmenes collect upon this occasion in great numbers, not only for the purpose of becoming personally acquainted with the new governor, but to form an opinion, from his manners and countenance, of his pacific or warlike disposition. This meeting attracts to the place where it is held a great number of merchants, who form there a kind of fair, mutually advantageous to both nations.

CHAP. V.

System of Religion and Funeral Ceremonies.

THE religious system of the Araucanians is simple, and well adapted to their free manner of thinking and of living. They acknowledge a Supreme Being, the author of all things, whom they call *Pillan, a word derived from *pulli* or *pilli,* the soul, and signifies the supreme essence; they also call him Guenu-pillan, the spirit of heaven; Buta-gen, the great being; Thalcove, the thunderer; Vilvemvoe, the creator of all; Vilpepilvoe, the omnipotent; Mollgelu, the eternal; Avnolu, the infinite, &c.

The universal government of Pillan is a prototype of the Araucanian polity. He is the great †Toqui of the invisible world, and as such has his Apo-Ulmenes, and his Ulmenes, to whom he entrusts the administration of affairs of less importance. These ideas are certainly very rude, but it must be acknowledged that the Araucanians are not the only people who have regulated the things of heaven by those of the earth.

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* Pillan is also, according to Dobrizhoffer, (T. 2. p. 101) their word for thunder. Tupa, or Tupi, in like manner among all the Tupi tribes of Brazil, and also the Guaranies of Paraguay, equally means thunder and God.—*E. E.*

† According to Falkner, his general name among the Moluche tribes is Toquichen, Governor of the People.—*E. E.*

In the first class of these subaltern divinities, is the Epunamun, or god of war; the Meulen, a benevolent deity, the friend of the human race; and the Guecubu, a malignant being, the author of all evil, who appears to be the same as the *Algue*. From hence it appears, that the doctrine of two adverse principles, improperly called Manicheism, is very extensive, or in other words, is found to be established among almost all the barbarous nations of both continents. These being, from the uncultivated state of their minds, incapable of investigating the origin of good and evil, and deducing inferences from effects, have had recourse to the invention of two opposite agents, in order to reconcile the apparent contradiction in the natural and moral government of the world.

The *Guecubu** is the *Mavari* of the Oronoques, and the *Aherman* of the Persians. He is, according to the general opinion of the Araucanians, the efficient cause of all the misfortunes that occur. If a horse tires, it is because the

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* Huecuvu, or Huecuvoe, the word is written by Falkner, and explained to mean the Wanderer without.—*E. E.*

Guecubu has rode him. If the earth trembles, the Guecubu has given it a shock; nor does any one die that is not suffocated by the Guecubu. In short, this evil being has as great influence over calamity as the occult qualities of the Cabalists have upon physical effects; and if his power was real, he would be the most active of any agent in this nether world.

The Ulmenes of their celestial hierarchy are the Genii, who have the charge of created things, and who, in concert with the benevolent Meulen, form a counterpoise to the enormous power of Guecubu. They are of both sexes, male and female, who always continue pure and chaste, propagation being unknown in their system of the spiritual world. The males are called *Gen,* that is, lords, unless this word should be the same as the *Ginn* of the Arabians. The females are called *Amei-malghen,* which signifies spiritual nymphs,* and perform for men the offices of Lares or familiar spirits. There is not an Araucanian but imagines he has one of these in his service. *Nien cai gni Amchi-malghen,* I keep my nymph still, is a common expression when they succeed in any undertaking.

The Araucanians carry still farther their ideas of the analogy between the celestial government and their own, for as their Ulmenes have not the right of imposing any species of service or contributions upon their subjects, still less in their opinion should those of celestial race require it of man, since they have no occasion for it. Governed by these singular opinions, they pay to them no exterior worship. They have neither temples nor idols, nor are they accustomed to offer any sacrifices, except in case of some severe calamity, or on concluding a peace; at such times they sacrifice animals and burn tobacco, which they think is the incense most agreeable to their deities. Nevertheless they invoke them and implore their aid upon urgent occasions, addressing themselves principally to Pillan and to Meulen. To this little regard for religion is owing the indifference which they have manifested at the introduction of christianity among them, which is tolerated in all the provinces of their dominion. The missionaries are there much respected, well treated, and have full liberty of publicly preaching their tenets, but, notwithstanding, there are but few of the natives who are converted.

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* More properly peris or fairies, from their obvious resemblance to that aërial class of beings of oriental origin.

If the Araucanians discover little regard for their deities, they are, however, very superstitious in many points of less importance. They firmly believe in divination, and pay the greatest attention to such favourable or unfavourable omens as the capriciousness of their imagination may suggest to them. These idle observations are particularly directed to dreams, to the singing and flight of birds, which are esteemed by the whole of them the truest interpreters of the will of the gods. The fearless Araucanian, who with incredible valour confronts death in battle, trembles at the sight of an owl. Their puerile weakness in this respect would appear incompatible with the strength of their intellect, if the history of the human mind did not furnish us with continual examples of similar contradictions.

They consult upon all occasions their diviners, or pretenders to a knowledge of futurity, who are sometimes called *Gligua,* and at others *Dugol,* among whom are some that pass for *Guenguenu, Genpugnu, Genpiru,* &c. which signify masters of the heavens, of epidemic diseases, and of worms or insects, and like the Llamas of Tibet, boast of being able to produce rain, of having the power to cure all disorders, and to prevent the ravages of the worms that destroy the corn. They are in great dread of the *Calcus,* or pretended sorcerers, who they imagine keep concealed by day in caverns with their disciples, called *Ivunches,* man-animals, and who at night transform themselves into nocturnal birds, make incursions in the air, and shoot invisible arrows at their enemies. Their superstitious credulity is particularly obvious, in the serious stories that they relate of apparitions, phantoms, and hobgoblins, respecting which they have innumerable tales. But in truth, is there any nation on earth, so far removed from credulity in that particular, as to claim a right of laughing at the Araucanians? They have, nevertheless, some among them, who are philosophers enough to despise such absurdities, and laugh at the folly of their countrymen.

They are all, however, agreed in the belief of the immortality of the soul. This consolatory truth is deeply rooted, and in a manner innate with them. They hold that man is composed of two substances essentially different: the corruptible body, which they call *anca,* and the soul, *am* or *pulli,* which they say is *ancanolu,* incorporeal, and *mugealu,* eternal, or existing for ever. This distinction is so fully established among them, that they frequently make use of the word *anca* metaphorically, to denote a part, the half, or the subject of any thing.

As respects the state of the soul after its separation from the body, they are not, however, agreed. All concur in saying, with the other American tribes, that after death they go towards the west beyond the sea, to a certain place called *Gulcheman,* that is, the dwelling of the men beyond the mountains. But some believe that this country is divided into two parts, one pleasant, and filled with every thing that is delightful, the abode of the good; and the other desolate, and in want of every thing, the habitation of the wicked. Others are of opinion that all indiscriminately enjoy there eternal pleasure, pretending that the deeds of this life have no influence upon a future state.

Notwithstanding they know the difference between the body and the soul, their ideas of the spirituality of the latter do not seem to be very distinct, as appears from the ceremonies practised at their funerals. As soon as one of their nation dies, his friends and relations seat themselves upon the ground around the body, and weep for a long time; they afterwards expose it, clothed in the best dress of the deceased, upon a high bier, called *pilluay,* where it remains during the night, which they pass near it in weeping, or in eating and drinking with those of who come to console them. This meeting is called *curicahuin,* the black entertainment, as that colour is among them, as well as the Europeans, the symbol of mourning. The following day, sometimes not until the second or the third after the decease of the person, they carry the corpse in procession to the *eltum,* or burying-place of the family, which is usually situated in a wood, or on a hill. Two young men on horseback, riding full speed, precede the procession. The bier is carried by the principal relations, and is surrounded by women, who bewail the deceased in the manner of the hired mourners among the Romans; while another woman, who walks behind, strews ashes in the road, to prevent the soul from returning to its late abode. On arriving at the place of burial, the corpse is laid upon the surface of the ground, and surrounded, if a man, with his arms, if a woman, with female implements, and with a great quantity of provisions, and with vessels filled with *chica* and with wine, which, according to their opinions, are necessary to subsist them during their passage to another world. They sometimes even kill a horse and inter it in the same ground. After these ceremonies they take leave with many tears of the deceased, wishing him a prosperous journey, and cover the corpse with earth and stones placed in a pyramidal form, upon which they pour a great quantity of *chica*. The similarity between these funeral rites and those practised by the ancients must be obvious to those acquainted with the customs of the latter.

Immediately after the relations have quitted the deceased, an old woman, called *Tempuleague*, comes, as the Araucanians believe, in the shape of a whale, to transport him to the Elysian fields; but before his arrival there, he is obliged to pay a toll for passing a very narrow strait to another malicious old woman who guards it, and who, on failure, deprives the passenger of an eye. This fable resembles much that of the ferryman

Charon, not that there is any probability that the one was copied from the other, as the human mind, when placed in similar situations, will give birth to the same ideas. The soul, when separated from the body, exercises in another life the same functions that it performed in this, with no other difference except that they are unaccompanied with fatigue or satiety. Husbands have there the same wives as they had on earth, but the latter have no children, as that happy country cannot be inhabited by any except the spirits of the dead, and every thing there is spiritual or analogous to it.

According to their theory, the soul, notwithstanding its new condition of life, never loses its original attachments, and when the spirits of their countrymen return, as they frequently do, they fight furiously with those of their enemies, whenever they meet with them in the air, and these combats are the origin of tempests, thunder, and lightning. Not a storm happens upon the Andes or the ocean, which they do not ascribe to a battle between the souls of their fellow-countrymen and those of the Spaniards; they say that the roaring of the wind is the trampling of their horses, the noise of the thunder that of their drums, and the flashes of lightning the fire of the artillery. If the storm takes its course towards the Spanish territory, they affirm that their spirits have put to flight those of the Spaniards, and exclaim, triumphantly, *Inaximen, inaximen, puen, laguximen!* Pursue them, friends, pursue them, kill them! If the contrary happens, they are greatly afflicted, and call out in consternation, *Yavulumen, puen, namuntumen!* Courage friends, be firm!

Their ideas respecting the origin of creation are so crude and ridiculous, that to relate them could serve for little else than to show the weakness of human reason when left to itself. They have among them a tradition of a great deluge, in which only a few persons were saved, who took refuge upon a high mountain called *Thegtheg*, the thundering, or the sparkling, which had three points, and possessed the property of moving upon the water. From hence it is inferible that this deluge was in consequence of some volcanic eruption, accompanied by terrible earthquakes, and is probably very different from that of Noah. Whenever a violent earthquake occurs, these people fly for safety to those mountains which they fancy to be of a similar appearance, and which of course, as they suppose, must possess the same property of floating on the water, assigning as a reason, that they are fearful after an earthquake that the sea will again return and deluge the world. On these occasions, each one takes a good supply of provisions, and wooden plates to protect their heads from being scorched, provided the *Thegtheg*, when raised

raised by the waters, should be elevated to the sun. Whenever they are told that plates made of earth would be much more suitable for this purpose than those of wood, which are liable to be burned, their usual reply is, that their ancestors did so before them.

CHAP. VI.

Division of Time; Astronomical Ideas; Measures.

TIME is divided by the Araucanians, as with us, into years, seasons, months, days, and hours, but in a very different method. Their year is solar, and begins on the 22d of December, or immediately after the southern solstice. For this reason they call this solstice *Thaumathipantu*, the head and tail of the year, and denominate June *Udanthipantu*, the divider of the year, from its dividing it into two equal parts. These two essential points they are able to ascertain with sufficient exactness by means of the solstitial shadows. The year is called *Tipantu*, the departure, or course of the sun, as that planet departs, or appears to depart from the tropic in order to make its annual revolution; it is divided into twelve months, of thirty days each, as was that of the Egyptians and Persians. In order to complete the tropical year they add five intercalary days, but in what manner they are introduced I am not able to determine; it is, however, probable they are placed in the last month, which in that case will have thirty-five days.

These months are called generally *cujen,* or moons, and must originally have been regulated wholly by the phases of the moon. The proper names of them, as near as they can be rendered by ours, are the following, which are derived from the qualities, or the most remarkable things that are produced in each month :

Avun-cujen,	January—The month of fruit.
Cogi-cujen,	February—The month of harvest.
Glor-cujen,	March—The month of maize.
Rimu-cujen,	April—The 1st month of the rimu.
Inarimu-cujen,	May—The 2d month of the rimu.
Thor-cujen,	June—The 1st month of foam.
Inanthor-cujen,	July—The 2d month of foam.
Huin-cujen,	August—The unpleasant month.
Pillal-cujen,	September—The treacherous month.
Hueul-cujen,	October—The 1st month of new winds.
Inan-hueul-cujen,	November—The 2d month of new winds.
Hueviru-cujen,	December—The month of new fruit.

The seasons, as in Europe, consist of three months; the spring is called *Peughen,* the summer *Ucan,* the autumn *Gualug,* and the winter *Pucham.* To render the distribution of the year uniform, they also divide the natural day into twelve parts, which they call *gliagantu,* assigning six to the day and six to the night, in the manner of the Chinese, the Japanese, the Otaheitans, and several other nations. Thus each *gliagantu* or Araucanian hour is equal to two of ours. Those of the day they determine by the height of the sun, and those of the night by the position of the stars: but, as they make use of no instrument for this purpose, it follows that this division, which must necessarily be unequal according to the different seasons of the year, will be much more so from the imperfect manner of regulating it. They begin to number their hours as is general in Europe, from midnight, and give to each a particular name.* In civil transactions, they calculate indifferently, either by days, nights, or mornings, so that three days, three nights, or three mornings, signify the same thing.

To the stars in general they give the name of *huaglen,* and divide them into several constellations, which they call *pal,* or *ritha.* These constellations usually receive their particular appellations from the number of remarkable stars that compose them. Thus the Pleiades are called *Cajupal,* the constellation of six, and the Antarctic Cross, *Meleritho,* the constellation of four, as the first has six stars that are very apparent, and the last four. The Milky Way is called *Rupuepeu,* the fabulous road, from a story which, like other nations, they relate of it, and which is considered as fabulous by the astronomers of the country.

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* These names, commencing at midnight, are, *Puliuen, Ueun, Thipanantu, Maleu, Vutamaleu, Ragiantu, Culunantu, Gullantu, Conantu, Guvquenantu, Puni, Ragipun.*

They are well acquainted with the planets, which they call *Gau,* a word derived from the verb *gaun,* to wash, from whence it may be inferred, that they have respecting these bodies the same opinion as the Romans, that at their setting they submerge themselves in the sea. Nor are there wanting Fontenelles among them, who believe that many of those globes are so many other earths, inhabited in the same manner as ours; for this reason they call the sky *Guenu-mapu,* the country of heaven; and the moon *Cuyen-mapu,* the country of the moon. They agree likewise with the Aristotelians, in maintaining that the comets, called by them *Cheruvoe,* proceed from terrestrial exhalations, inflamed in the upper regions of the air; but they are not considered as the precursors of evil and disaster, as they have been esteemed by almost all the nations of the earth. An eclipse of the sun is called by them *Layantu,* and that of the moon *Laycujen,* that is, the death of the sun or of the moon. But these expressions are merely metaphorical, as are the correspondent ones in Latin, of *defectus solis, aut lunæ.* I know not their opinions of the cause of these phenomena; but I have been informed that they evince no greater alarm upon these occasions than at the most common operations of nature. Their language contains several words wholly applicable to astronomical subjects, such as *Thoren,* the late rising of the stars, and others similar, which prove that their knowledge in this respect, is much greater than what is generally supposed. But my researches into their customs, owing to the reasons which I have already assigned, were by no means so complete as I could have wished before I left the country.

Their long measures are the palm, *nela,* the span, *duche,* the foot, *namun,* the pace, *thecan,* the ell, *nevcu,* and the league, *tupu,* which answers to the marine league, or the parasang of the Persians. Their greater distances are computed by mornings, corresponding to the day's journey of Europe. Their liquid and dry measures are less numerous: the *guampar,* a quart, the *can,* a pint, and the *mencu,* a measure of a less quantity, serve for the first. The dry measures are the *chiaigue,* which contains about six pints, and the *gliepu,* which is double that quantity.

With regard to the speculative sciences they have very little information. Their geometrical notions are, as might be expected from an uncultivated people, very rude and confined. They have not even proper words to denote the principal figures, as the point, the line, the angle, the triangle, the square, the circle, the sphere, the cube, the cone, &c. Their language, however, as we shall show hereafter, is flexible and adapted to every species of composition, whence it would be easy to form a vocabulary of technical words to facilitate the acquisition of the sciences to the Araucanians.

CHAP. VII.

Rhetoric; Poetry; Medical Skill; Commerce of the Araucanians.

NOTWITHSTANDING their general ignorance, they cultivate successfully the sciences of rhetoric, poetry, and medicine, as far as these are attainable by practice or observation; for they have no books among them, nor any who know how to write or read. Nor can they be induced to learn these arts; either from their aversion to every thing that is practised by the Europeans, or from their being urged by a savage spirit to despise whatever does not belong to their country.

Oratory is particularly held in high estimation by them, and, as among the ancient Romans, is the high road to honour, and the management of public affairs. The eldest son of an Ulmen who is deficient in this talent, is for that sole reason excluded from the right of succession, and one of his younger brothers, or the nearest relation that he has, who is an able speaker, substituted in his place. Their parents, therefore, accustom them from their childhood to speak in public, and carry them to their national assemblies, where the best orators of the country display their eloquence.

From hence is derived the attention which they generally pay to speak their language correctly, and to preserve it in its purity, taking great care to avoid the introduction of any foreign word, in which they are so particular, that whenever a foreigner settles among them, they oblige him to relinquish his name and take another in the Chilian language. The missionaries themselves are obliged to conform to this singular regulation, if they would obtain the public favour. They have much to endure from this excessive fastidiousness, as even while they are preaching the audience will interrupt them, and with importunate rudeness correct the mistakes in language or pronunciation that escape them. Many of them are well acquainted with the Spanish language, both from their frequent communication with the neighbouring Spaniards, and from having been accustomed to speak a soft, regular, and varied language, which readily adapts itself to the pronunciation of the European dialects, as has been observed by Captain Wallis respecting the Patagonians, who are real Chilians.* They, however, make but little use of it, none of them ever attempting to speak in Spanish in any of the assemblies or congresses that have been held between the two nations, on which occasion they had much rather submit to the inconvenience of listening to a tiresome interpreter, than, by speaking another language, to degrade their native tongue.

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* Hawkesworth's Voyage of Captain Wallis.

The speeches of their orators resemble those of the Asiatics, or more properly those of all barbarous nations. The style is highly figurative, allegorical, elevated, and replete with peculiar phrases and expressions that are employed only in similar compositions, from whence it is called *coyagtucan,* the style of parliamentary harangues. They abound with parables and apologues, which sometimes furnish the whole substance of the discourse. Their orations, notwithstanding, contain all the essential parts required by the rules of rhetoric, which need not excite our surprise, since the same principle of nature that led the Greeks to reduce eloquence to an art, has taught the use of it to these people. They are deficient neither in a suitable exordium, a clear narrative, a well-founded argument, or a pathetic peroration. They commonly divide their subject into two or three points, which they call *thoy,* and specify the number by saying *epu thoy-gei tamen piavin,* what I am going to say is divided into two points. They employ in their oratory several kinds of style, but the most esteemed is the *rachidugun,* a word equivalent to academic.

Their poets are called *gempin,* lords of speech. This expressive name is well applied to them, since possessing that strong enthusiasm excited by passions undebilitated by the restraints and refinements of civil life, they follow no other rules in their compositions than the impulse of their imaginations. Of course, their poetry generally contains strong and lively images, bold figures, frequent allusions and similitudes, novel and forcible expressions, and possesses the art of moving and interesting the heart by exciting its sensibility. Every thing in it is metaphorical and animated, and allegory is, if I may use the expression, its very soul or essence. Unrestrained enthusiasm is the prime characteristic of all the poetry of savages; such was that of the Bards of the Celts, and the Scalds of the Danes; and the pretended editor of the poems of Ossian has discovered an intimate acquaintance with the poetic genius of barbarous nations.

The principal subject of the songs of the Araucanians is the exploits of their heroes. I would gladly have presented to my readers some of these compositions, but the difficulty of procuring them, from the distance of the country, has not permitted me to do it. Their verses are composed mostly in stanzas of eight or eleven syllables, a measure that appears the most agreeable to the human ear. They are blank, but occasionally a rhyme is introduced, according to the taste or caprice of the poet.

The Araucanians have three kinds of physicians, the *Ampives*, the *Vileus*, and the *Machis*. The *Ampives*, a word equivalent to empirics, are the best. They employ in their cures only simples, are skillful herbalists, and have some very good ideas of the pulse and the other diagnostics. The *Vileus* correspond to the methodists, or regular physicians. Their principal theory is, that all contagious disorders proceed from insects, an opinion held by many physicians in Europe. For this reason they generally give to epidemics the name of *cutampiru*, that is to say, vermiculous disorders, or diseases of worms.

The *Machis* are a superstitious class, that are to be met with among all the savage nations of both continents. They maintain that all serious disorders proceed from witchcraft, and pretend to cure them by supernatural means, for which reason they are employed in desperate cases, when the exertions of the Ampives or of the Vileus are ineffectual. Their mode of cure is denominated *machitun*, and consists in the following idle ceremonies, which are always performed in the night:

The room of the sick person is lighted with a great number of torches, and in a corner of it, among several branches of laurel, is placed a large bough of cinnamon, to which is suspended the magical drum; near it is a sheep ready for sacrifice. The Machi directs the women who are present to sing with a loud voice a doleful song, accompanied with the sound of some little drums which they beat at the same time. In the meantime, he fumigates three times with tobacco-smoke, the branch of cinnamon, the sheep, the singers, and the sick person. After this ceremony, he kills the sheep, takes out the heart, and after sucking the blood fixes it upon the branch of cinnamon. He next approaches the patient, and by certain charms pretends to open his belly to discover the poison that has been given him by the pretended sorcerer. He then takes the magical drum, which he beats, and sings, walking round with the women; all at once he falls to the ground like a maniac, making frightful gesticulations and horrible contortions of his body, sometimes wildly opening his eyes, then shutting them, appearing like one possessed of an evil spirit. During this farcical scene, the relations of the sick interrogate the Machi upon the cause and seat of the malady. To these questions the fanatical impostor replies in such a manner as he believes best calculated to promote the deception, either by naming, as the cause of the malady, some person whom he wishes to revenge himself of, or by expressing himself doubtfully as to the success of his incantations. In this manner these diabolical mountebanks become very frequently the cause of horrible murders, as the relations of the sick, supposing the accusation true, put to death without pity those accused of these practices, and sometimes involve in their revenge the whole family, if they are not strong enough to resist their violence. But these malicious fomenters of discord are careful never to accuse the principal families. The Machis, though not invested with the sacerdotal character, like the physicians of most other savage nations, greatly resemble in their impostures the *Shamanis* of Kamschatka, the *Mokises* of Africa, and the *Piachis* of the Oronoque, whose tricks are accurately described by the Abbé Gili, in his history of the Oronokians.

These physicians, notwithstanding the different systems that they pursue, sometimes meet to satisfy the solicitude or the vanity of the relations of the sick. But their consultations, which are called *Thauman*, have generally the same issue as those of the physicians of Europe. They have, besides these two, other kinds of professors of medicine. The first, who may be styled surgeons, are skillful in replacing dislocations, in repairing fractures, and in curing wounds and ulcers. They are called *Gutarve*, possess real merit, and often perform wonderful cures. But this is by no means the case with the others, called *Cupove,* from the verb *cupon,* to anatomize; these, infatuated with *Machiism,* dissect bodies, in order to show the entrails, which they say are infected with magic poison. Nevertheless, by means of this practice, they acquire ideas by no means contemptible respecting the conformation of the human body, for the different parts of which they have appropriate names.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, the Araucanians made use of bleeding, blistering, clysters, emetics, cathartics, and sudorifics, all which remedies have their peculiar names in their language. They let blood with the sharp point of a flint fixed in a small stick. This instrument they prefer to a lancet, as they think it less liable to fail. Instead of a syringe they make use, like the inhabitants of Kamschatka, of a bladder, to which they apply a pipe. Their emetics, cathartics, and sudorifics, are almost all obtained from the vegetable kingdom.

Their internal and external commerce is very limited; not having yet introduced among them the use of money, every thing is conducted by means of barter. This is regulated by a kind of conventional tariff, according to which all commercial articles are appraised under the name of *Cullen,* or payment, as was the custom in the time of Homer. Thus a horse or a bridle forms one payment; an ox two, &c. Their external commerce is carried on with the Spaniards, with whom they exchange *ponchos* and animals for wine, or the merchandize of Europe, and their good faith in contracts of this kind has always been highly applauded.*

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* The Spaniard who engages in this trade, applies directly to the heads of families. When he has obtained the necessary permission, he proceeds to all the houses, and distributes indiscriminately his merchandize to all those who present themselves. When he has completed his sale, he gives notice of his departure, and all the purchasers hasten to deliver to him, in the first village that he arrives at, the articles agreed upon; and never has there been an instance of the least failure of punctuality.—*Raynal's History.*

The following is extracted from the Compendium of the Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili, printed in Bologna, 1776. " The Spaniards who live in the province of Maúle, and near the frontiers of Araucania, carry on a commerce with those people, which consists in supplying them with iron ware, bits for bridles, cutlery, grain, and wine. This trade is conducted altogether by the way of barter, as it is not possible to persuade the Araucanians to open the gold mines, nor to produce any of that metal. The returns therefore are in *ponchi*, or Indian cloaks, of which they receive more than forty thousand annually, in horned cattle, horses, ostrich feathers, curiously wrought baskets, and other trifles of a similar kind. This commerce, although generally prohibited, is carried on in the Indian country, whither the traders go with their merchandize by bye-roads, and deposit it in the cabins of the natives, to whom they readily trust whatever they wish to sell, certain of being punctually paid at the time agreed upon, which is always the case, these Indians observing the greatest faith in their contracts.

CHAP. VIII.

Pride of the Araucanians; Kindness and Charity towards each other; Mode of Salutation; Proper Names.

ALTHOUGH the Araucanians have long since emerged from a savage state, they nevertheless preserve, in many respects, the prejudices and the peculiar character of that early period. Proud of their valour and unbounded liberty, they believe themselves the only people in the world that deserve the name of men. From hence it is that, besides the appellation of *auca,* or free, which they value so highly, they give themselves metonymically the names of *che,* or the nation; of *reche,* pure or undegenerated nation; and of *huentu,* men; a word of similar signification with the *vir* of the Latins, and as the latter is the root of the word *virtus,* so from the former is derived *huentugen,* which signifies the same thing.

From this ridiculous pride proceeds the contempt with which they regard all other nations. To the Spaniards they gave, on their first knowledge of them, the nickname of *chiapi,* vile soldiers, from whence proceeded the denomination of *chiapeton,* by which they are known in South America. They afterwards called them *huinca;* this injurious appellation, which from time and custom has lost its odiousness, comes from the verb *huincun,* which signifies to assassinate. It is true that in their first battles the Spaniards gave them too much reason for applying to them these opprobrious epithets, which serve to the present time to denote one of that nation. Esteeming themselves fortunate in their barbarity, they call those Indians who live in the Spanish settlements *culme-huinca,* or wretched Spaniards. To the other Europeans, the English, French, and Italians, whom they readily distinguish from each other, they give the name of *maruche,* which is equivalent to the term *moro,* used by the common people of Spain to denote all strangers indiscriminately. They call each other *pegni,* that is brothers, and even apply the same name to those born in their country of foreign parents.

The benevolence and kindness with which these people generally treat each other is really surprising. For the word friend they have six or seven very expressive terms in their language, among others that of *canay,* which corresponds to the *alter ego* of the Latins. The relations that result from corresponding situations or common concerns in life are so many ties of regard, and are expressed by appropriate words denoting particular friendship or good will. Those who have the same name call each other *laca,* and those who bear but a part of the name, *apellaca.* These denominations incur an obligation of mutual esteem and aid. Relations by consanguinity are called in general *monmague,* and those of affinity, *guillan.* Their table of genealogy is more intricate than that of the Europeans, all the conceivable degrees of relationship being indicated therein by particular names.

From the mutual affection that subsists between them, proceeds their solicitude reciprocally to assist each other in their necessities. Not a beggar or an indigent person is to be found throughout the whole Araucanian territory; even the most infirm and incapable of subsisting themselves are decently clothed.

This benevolence is not, however, confined only to their countrymen: they conduct with the greatest hospitality towards all strangers of whatever nation, and a traveller may live in any part of their country without the least expense.

Their usual expression whenever they meet is *marimari,* and when they quit each other *ventempi,* or *venteni.* They are rather tiresome in their compliments, which are generally too long, as they take a pride upon such occasions, as well as every other, in making a display of their eloquence. The right hand is, among them, as with the Europeans, the most honourable station, contrary to the practice of the Asiatics, with whom the left enjoys that privilege. They are naturally fond of honourable distinction, and there is nothing they can endure with less patience than contempt or inattention. From hence, if a Spaniard speaks to one of them with his hat on, he immediately says to him in an indignant tone, *entugo tami curtesia,* take off your hat. By attention and courtesy, any thing may be obtained from them, and the favours which they receive make an indelible impression upon their minds, while on the contrary, ill treatment exasperates them to such a degree, that they proceed to the greatest excesses to revenge themselves.

The names of the Araucanians are composed of the proper name, which is generally either an adjective or a numeral, and the family appellation or surname, which is always placed after the proper name, according to the European custom, as *cari-lemu,* green bush: *meli-antu,* four suns. The first denotes one of the family of the *lemus,* or bushes, and the second one of that of the *antus,* or suns. Nor is there scarcely a material object which does not furnish them with a discriminative name. From hence, we meet among them with the families of Rivers, Mountains, Stones, Lions, &c. These families, which are called *cuga,* or *elpa,* are more or less respected according to their rank, or the heroes they have given to their country. The origin of these surnames is unknown, but is certainly of a period much earlier than that of the Spanish conquests.

CHAP. IX.

Matrimony and Domestic Employments.

By the *admapu* polygamy is allowed among the Araucanians, whence they marry as many wives as they can furnish with a dower, or more properly purchase, as to obtain them they must give to their fathers a certain amount of property, as has been and still is the practice in most countries of both continents. But in their marriages they scrupulously avoid the more immediate degrees of relationship. Celibacy is considered as ignominious. Old batchelors are called, by way of contempt, *vuchiapra,* and old maids *cudepra,* that is, old, idle, good for nothing.

Their marriage ceremonies have little formality, or, to speak more accurately, consist in nothing more than in carrying off the bride by pretended violence, which is considered by them, as by the negroes of Africa, an essential prerequisite to the nuptials. The husband, in concert with the father, conceals himself with some friends near the place where they know the bride is to pass. As soon as she arrives she is seized and put on horseback behind the bridegroom, notwithstanding her pretended resistance and her shrieks, which are far from being serious. In this manner she is conducted with much noise to the house of her husband, where her relations are assembled, and receive the presents agreed upon, after having partaken of the nuptial entertainment. Of course, the expenses of an Araucanian wedding are by no means inconsiderable, from whence it happens that the rich alone can maintain any considerable number of wives. The poor content themselves with one or two at most. Nor does there arise any inconvenience from the scarcity of women, as the number of females is much greater than the males, which is always the case in those countries where polygamy is permitted.

The first wife, who is called *unendomo,* is always respected as the real and legitimate one by all the others, who are called *inandomo,* or secondary wives. She has the management of the domestic concerns, and regulates the interior of the house. The husband has much to do to maintain harmony among so many women, who are not a little inclined to jealousy, and each night at supper makes known his choice of her who is to have the honour of sharing his bed, by directing her to prepare it. The others sleep in the same room, and no one is permitted to approach them. Strangers, on their arrival, are lodged in a cabin entirely separate from this seraglio.

The wives have the greatest respect for their husbands, and generally give him the title of *buta,* or great. Besides female occupations, they are obliged to employ themselves in many that, in civilized countries, are considered as the peculiar province of the men, according to the established maxim of all barbarous nations, that the weaker sex are born to labour, and the stronger to make war and to command. Each of them is obliged to present to her husband daily a dish prepared by herself in her separate kitchen or fire-place ; for this reason the houses of the Araucanians have as many fires as there are women inhabiting them ; whence, in inquiring of any one how many wives he has, they make use of the following phrase of being the most polite, *muri onthalgeimi,* how many fires do you keep. Each wife is also obliged to furnish her husband yearly, besides his necessary clothing, with one of those cloaks already described, called *ponchos,* which form one of the principal branches of the Araucanian commerce.

The greatest attention is paid by the women to the cleanliness of their houses, which they sweep, as well as their courts, several times in the course of a day ; and whenever they make use of any utensil they immediately wash it, for which purpose their houses are supplied with an abundance of running water. The same attention to cleanliness is paid to their persons :

they comb their heads twice a day, and once a week wash them with a soap made from the bark of the *quillai,** which keeps the hair very clean. There is never to be seen on their clothes the least spot or dirt. The men are likewise equally as fond of cleanliness; they never fail to comb their heads every day, and are also accustomed frequently to wash them.

Bathing, as among the ancients, is in common use with these people, who think it necessary to preserve their health and strengthen their bodies, and in order to have it convenient they are careful to place their houses on the banks of rivers. In warm weather they bathe themselves several times a day, and it is rare even in winter that they do not bathe themselves at least once a day; by means of this continued exercise they become excellent swimmers, and give wonderful proofs of dexterity in this art. They will swim for a great distance under water, and in this manner cross their largest rivers, which renders them some of the best divers in the world.

The women are also fond of frequent bathing, and for this purpose, select the most obscure solitary places, at a great distance from the men. Even on the very day of the birth of a child, they take the infant to the river and wash it, and also themselves, and within a short time return to their customary occupations, without experiencing any inconvenience; so true it is, that the human constitution is not naturally delicate, but is rendered so by our customs and modes of living. Child-birth is with them attended with little pain, which must be attributed to the strength of their constitutions; for a similar reason the women of the lower classes in Europe, according to the statement of Doctor Bland, in the Philosophical Transactions, experience a more easy delivery than the ladies, and are less subject to sickness in consequence.

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* *Quillaia Saponaria*; it is also much used by the Spaniards, especially those who live in the country.

Whether directed merely by the impulse of simple nature, or actuated by their solicitude to furnish strong men to the state, they rear their children in a very different manner from what is practised in civilized countries. When they have washed them in running water, as I have already observed, they neither swathe nor bandage them, but place them in a hanging cradle, called *chigua*, lined with soft skins, where they merely cover them with a cloth, and swing them from time to time by means of a cord attached to the cradle, which leaves them more at liberty to attend to their domestic concerns.

When their children begin to walk, which is very soon, they neither put them into stays nor any other confined dress, but keep them loosely clad, and let them go any where and eat what they please. Formed thus, as it were, by themselves, they become well shaped and robust, and less subject to those infirmities that are the consequence of a tender and a delicate education. Indeed, the maladies that prevail among the Araucanians are but few, and are for the most part reducible to inflammatory fevers, originating either from intemperance in drinking, or to the excessive exercise which they sometimes use.

If the physical education of the Araucanian children is in a certain degree laudable, the moral education which they receive will not certainly meet with our entire approbation. It is, nevertheless, conformable to the ideas of that high-minded people, respecting the innate liberty of man, and such as may be expected from an uncivilized nation. Their fathers are satisfied with instructing them in the use of arms, and the management of horses, and in learning them to speak their native language with elegance. In other respects they leave them at liberty to do whatever they please, and praise them whenever they see them insolent, saying that in this manner they learn to become men. It is very unusual for them to chastise or correct them, as they hold it as an established truth, that chastisement renders men base and cowardly.

CHAP. X.

Food; Music and other Diversions.

The usual diet of the Araucanians is very simple; their principal subsistence is several kinds of grain and pulse, which they prepare in a variety of different modes. They are particularly fond of maize or Indian corn, and potatoes; of the last they have cultivated more than thirty different kinds from time immemorial, esteeming them a very healthy nutriment, which the experience of ages has sufficiently demonstrated. Although they have large and small animals and birds in plenty, yet they eat but little flesh, and that is simply boiled or roasted. They have the same abstemiousness in the use of pork, from which they know very well how to prepare black puddings and sausages. Their seas and rivers abound with excellent fish, but they do not much esteem this kind of aliment. Instead of bread, which they are not accustomed to eat except at their entertainments, they make use of small cakes or roasted potatoes with a little salt. Their usual drinks consist of various kinds of beer and of cider, made from Indian corn, from apples and other fruits of the country. They are nevertheless extremely fond of wine, which they purchase from the Spaniards, but hitherto, either for political reasons, or more probably from carelessness, they have paid no attention to the raising of vines, which, as has been proved by experiment, produce very well in all their provinces.

The master of the house eats at the same table with the rest of his family. The plates are earthen, and the spoons and cups are made of horn or wood. The Ulmenes have in general wrought plate for the service of their tables, but they only make use of it when they entertain some stranger of rank; upon such occasions they ostentatiously display it, being naturally fond of show, and of being considered rich. Their seasonings are made of Guinea pepper, of *madi*, and salt. In summer they are fond of dining in the shade of trees, which for this purpose are always planted around their houses. They do not use the flint for the purpose of obtaining fire, but employ, like the Kamtschatdales, two pieces of dry wood, one of which they place upon another, and turn it in their hands until it takes fire, which is very soon. Besides dinner, supper, and breakfast, they have every day without fail their luncheon, which consists of a little flour of parched corn, steeped in hot water in the morning, and in cold in the evening.

But they often deviate from this simple mode of living at the public entertainments, which they give each other on occasion of funerals, marriages, or any other important event. At such times no expense is spared, and they are profuse of every thing that can promote festivity. In one of these banquets, at which it is common for three hundred persons to be present, more meat, grain, and liquor, is consumed, than would be sufficient to support a whole family for two years. It is usual for one of these feasts to continue two or three days; they are called *cahuin*, or circles, from the company seating themselves in a circle around a large branch of cinnamon.

Such entertainments are made gratuitously, and any person whatever is permitted to participate in them without the least expense or requisition. But this is not the case with the *mingacos*, or those dinners which they are accustomed to make on occasion of cultivating their land, threshing their grain, building a house, or any other work which requires the combined aid of several. At such times all those who wish to partake in the feast must labour until the work is completed. But as these people have abundant leisure, the labourers convene in such numbers, that in a very few hours the work is finished, and the rest of the day is devoted to feasting and drinking. The Spaniards who live in the country have also adopted a similar plan, availing themselves of the same kind of industry to complete their rural labours.

Fermented liquors, in the opinion of the Araucanians, form the principal requisites of an entertainment; for whenever they are not in plenty, whatever may be the quantity of provisions, they manifest great dissatisfaction, exclaiming *golingelai,* it is a wretched feast, there is no drink. These bacchanalian revels succeed each other almost without interruption throughout the year, as every man of property is ambitious of the honour of giving them, so that it may be said that the Araucanians, when not engaged in war, pass the greater part of their lives in revelry and amusement. Music, dancing, and play, form their customary diversions. As to the first, it scarcely deserves the name, not so much from the imperfection of the instruments, which are the same they make use of in war, but from their manner of singing, which has something in it harsh and disagreeable to the ear, until one has been accustomed to it for a long time. They have several kinds of dances, which are lively and pleasing, and possess considerable variety. The women are rarely permitted to dance with the men, but form their companies apart, and dance to the sound of the same instruments.

If what the celebrated Leibnitz asserts is true, that men have never discovered greater talents than in the invention of the different kinds of games, the Araucanians may justly claim the merit of not being in this respect inferior to other nations. Their games are very numerous, and for the most part very ingenious; they are divided into the sedentary and gymnastic. It is a curious fact, and worthy of notice, that among the first is the game of chess, which they call *comican*, and which has been known to them from time immemorial. The game of *quechu*, which they esteem highly, has a great affinity to that of backgammon, but instead of dice they make use of triangular pieces of bone marked with points, which they throw with a little hoop or circle supported by two pegs, as was, probably, the *fritillus* of the ancient Romans.

The youth exercise themselves frequently in wrestling and running. They are also much attached to playing with the ball; it is called by them *pilma*, and is made from a species of rush. But of all their gymnastic games that require strength, the *peuco* and the *palican* are the best suited to their genius, as they serve as an image of war. The first, which represents the siege of a fortress, is conducted in the following manner: Twelve or more persons join hands and form a circle, in the centre of which stands a little boy; their adversaries, who are equal in number, and sometimes superior, endeavour by force or stratagem to break the circle, and make themselves masters of the child, in which the victory consists. But this attempt is by no means so easy as it may seem. The defenders make almost incredible efforts to keep themselves closely united, whence the besiegers are often compelled, by this obstinate defence, to relinquish the attempt through weariness.

The *palican*, which the Spaniards call *chueca*, resembles the *orpasto* or *spheromachia* of the Greeks, and the *calcio* of the Florentines. This game has every appearance of a regular battle, and is played with a wooden ball, called *pali*, on a plain of about half a mile in length, the boundaries of which are marked with branches of trees. The players, to the number of thirty, furnished with sticks curved at the end, arrange themselves in two files, disposed in such a manner that each of them stands opposite to his adversary; when the judges appointed to preside at the game give the signal, the two adversaries who occupy the eighth station advance, and with their sticks remove the ball from a hole in the earth, when each endeavours to strike it towards his party; the others impel it forward or backward, according to the favourable or unfavourable course it is pursuing, that party obtaining the victory to whose limits it is driven. From hence proceeds a severe contest between them, so that it sometimes happens that a single match requires more than half a day to finish it. This game has its established laws, which the judges oblige them very strictly to observe; notwithstanding which, many disputes occur. The successful players acquire great reputation, and are invited to all the principal parties that are made in the country. When two provinces challenge each other, as frequently happens, this amusement becomes a public spectacle. An immense crowd of people collect, and bet very largely. The peasants of the Spanish provinces have introduced among this game, and their families, in reference to it, are divided into two parties called *plazas* and *lampas*. It has become one of their most favourite amusements, notwithstanding the proclamations issued from time to time by the government against all those who encourage or promote it.

What we have said of the Araucanians does not altogether apply to the Puelches, or inhabitants of the fourth *Uthalmapu*, situated in the Andes. These, although they conform to the general customs of the nation, always discover a greater degree of rudeness and savageness of manners. Their name signifies eastern-men. They are of lofty stature, and are fond of hunting, which induces them frequently to change their habitations, and extend their settlements not only to the eastern skirts of the Andes, but even to the borders of the lake *Naguelguapi*, and to the extensive plains of Patagonia on the shores of the North Sea. The Araucanians hold these mountaineers in high estimation for the important services which they occasionally render them, and for the fidelity which they have ever observed in their alliance with them.

THE

CIVIL HISTORY

OF

CHILI.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

The Araucanians attack the Spaniards under the conduct of Aillavalu, and afterwards that of Lincoyan; Valdivia makes incursions into their territory, and founds therein the cities of Imperial, Villarica, Valdivia, and Angol, with several other places.

THE Araucanians having resolved, as was mentioned in the first book, to send succours to the inhabitants of *Penco,* who were invaded by the Spaniards, gave orders to the Toqui *Aillavalu* to march immediately to their assistance at the head of 4000 men. In the year 1550, that general passed the great river Bio-bio, which separates the Araucanian territory from that of the Pencones, and boldly offered battle to these new enemies, who had advanced to meet him to the shores of the Andalien.

After the first discharge of musketry, which the Araucanians sustained without being terrified or disconcerted, thus early manifesting how little they would regard it when rendered familiar by habit, Aillavalu, with a rapid movement, fell at once upon the front and flanks of the Spanish army. They on their part forming themselves into a square, supported by their cavalry, received the furious attacks of the enemy with their accustomed valour, killing a great number of them, but losing at the same time many of their own men. The battle remained undecided for several hours. The Spaniards were thrown into some disorder, and their general was exposed to imminent danger, having had his horse killed under him, when Aillavalu, hurried forwards by a rash courage, received a mortal wound. The Araucanians, having lost their general, with many of their most valiant officers, then retired, but in good order, leaving the field to the Spaniards, who had no disposition to pursue them.

Valdivia, who had been in many battles in Europe as well as America, declared that he had never been exposed to such imminent hazard of his life, as in this engagement; and, much astonished at the valour and military skill of these people, he immediately set about constructing a strong fortification near the city, expecting shortly to be attacked again. In fact, no sooner were the Araucanians informed of the death of their general, than they sent against him another army still more numerous, under the command of *Lincoyan*. This officer, from his gigantic stature, and a certain show of courage, had acquired high reputation among his companions in arms, but he was naturally timid and irresolute, and was much better suited for a subaltern station than for that of commander in chief.

The new Toqui, in the year 1551, formed his troops into three divisions, and marched to attack the Spaniards. Such was the terror inspired by the approach of the Araucanians, that the Spaniards, after confessing themselves, and partaking of the sacrament, took shelter under the cannon of their fortifications. But Lincoyan finding the first attack unsuccessful, apprehensive of losing the army committed to his charge, ordered a precipitate retreat, to the great surprise of Valdivia, who, apprehensive of some stratagem, forbad his soldiers to pursue the fugitives. When it was discovered that the enemy had retreated in good earnest, they began to consider their flight as a special mark of the favour of heaven, and, in the fervour of their enthusiasm, there were not wanting some who declared that they had seen the Apostle St. James upon a white horse, with a flaming sword, striking terror into their enemies.* These declarations were readily believed, and the whole army, in consequence, unanimously agreed to build a chapel upon the field of battle, which a few years after was dedicated to that apostle. But this miracle, which is not entitled to greater credit from its having been so frequently repeated, proceeded alone from the circumspection and timidity of Lincoyan.

The Spanish general, who was now in some measure freed from the restraint imposed upon him by the Araucanians, applied himself with great diligence to building the new city. Although he had fixed upon St. Jago for the capital of the colony, he nevertheless discovered a strong predilection for this maritime settlement, considering it as the future centre of the communication with Peru and Spain. Here he likewise intended to establish his family, selecting for his habitation a pleasant situation, and in the division of lands reserving for himself the fertile peninsula lying between the mouths of the rivers Biobio and Andalien, and, as he fully expected in a short time to be able to subjugate the Araucanians, he had also resolved to ask of the court of Spain, in reward for his services, the two adjacent provinces of Arauco and Tucapel, with the title of Marquis.

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* This Apostle appears to have been a very convenient personage, and very ready with his aid upon all such occasions to the Spaniards of that period. Bernal Diaz, in his true history of the conquest of Mexico, in giving an account of a similar story, thus expresses himself with his peculiar *naiveté.* "In his account of this action Gomara says, that previous to the arrival of the main body of the cavalry under Cortes, Francisco de Morla appeared in the field upon a grey dappled horse, and that it was one of the holy apostles, St. Peter or St. Jago, disguised under his person. I say, that all our works and victories are guided by the hand of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that in this battle there were so many enemies to every one of us, that they could have buried us under the dust they could have held in their hands, but that the great mercy of God aided us throughout. What Gomara asserts might be the case, and I, sinner as I am, was not worthy to be permitted to see it. What I did see was Francisco de Morla riding in company with Cortes and the rest upon a chesnut horse, and that circumstance, and all the others of that day, appear to me, at this moment that I am writing, as if actually passing in the view of these sinful eyes."

The building of the city having progressed rapidly under his inspection in a short time, he employed the remainder of the year in regulating its internal police. For this purpose he published forty-two articles or statutes, among which are some that discover much prudence and humanity respecting the treatment of the natives, whom he left, however, as elsewhere, subject to the private control of the citizens. Believing that the courage of the Araucanians was now completely subdued, as, since their second unsuccessful expedition, they had made no attempt to molest him, he resolved to attack them in their own territory, with a reinforcement that he had just received from Peru.

With this intention, in the year 1552, he passed the Bio-bio, and proceeding rapidly through the provinces of Encol and Puren, unobstructed by the tardy operations of Lincoyan, came to the shores of the Cauten, which divides the Araucanian territory into two nearly equal parts. At the confluence of this river and that of Damas, he founded another city, to which he gave the name of Imperial, in honour of the Emperor Charles the Fifth; or, as is said by some, in consequence of finding there eagles with two heads cut in wood, placed upon the tops of the houses. This city was situated in a beautiful spot, abounding with every convenience of life, and during the short period of its existence became the most flourishing of any in Chili. Its position on the shore of a large river of sufficient depth for vessels to lie close to the walls, rendered it a highly advantageous situation for commerce, and would enable it to obtain immediate succour in case of siege. Modern geographers speak of it as a city not only existing at the present time, but as very strongly fortified, and the seat of a bishopric, when it has been buried in ruins for more than two hundred years.

Valdivia, intoxicated with this unexpected prosperity, displayed all that liberality which frequently marks the conduct of those who find themselves in a situation to give away what costs them nothing. Exulting with his officers in the supposed reduction of the most valiant nation of Chili, he assigned to them, conditionally, the extensive districts of the surrounding country. To Francis Villagran, his Lieutenant-General, he gave the warlike province of *Maquegua*, called by the Araucanians the key of their country, with thirty thousand inhabitants.* The other officers obtained from eight to twelve thousand natives,† with lands in proportion, according to the degree of favour in which they stood with the general. He also dispatched Alderete, with sixty men, to form a settlement on the shore of the great lake *Lauquen,* to which he gave the name of Villarica, from the great quantity of gold that he found in its environs.

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* After the death of Villagran, the province of *Maquegua* was partitioned anew among the conquerors, the principal part of it being assigned to Juan de Ocampo, and the other to Andreas Matencio; but, in consequence of its recapture by the Indians, they reaped very little if any advantage from these commanderies. Ocampo afterwards obtained, as a reward for his distinguished services, the Corregidorate of the city of Serena, and that of Mendoza and St. Juan, in the province of Cujo; in this last province was likewise granted him a commandery of Indians, which he afterwards ceded to the crown. He was from Salamanca, of a very illustrious family, a relation to the first bishop of Imperial, and one of the bravest officers that went from Peru to Chili.

† Among those most in favour with Valdivia, was Pedro Aguilera, who received the gift of a commandery, containing from ten to twelve thousand Indians.

In the meantime, having received fresh reinforcements, he commenced his march towards the south, still kept in view by Lincoyan, who sought a favourable opportunity of attacking him, which his timid caution constantly prevented him from finding. In this manner the Spanish commander traversed with little loss the whole of Araucania from north to south, but on his arrival at the river *Caliacalla*, which separates the Araucanians from the *Cunches,* he found the latter in arms, determined to oppose his passage. While he was deliberating what measures to pursue, a woman of the country, called *Recloma,* either from interested motives or a real desire to prevent the effusion of blood, came to him and promised to persuade her countrymen to withdraw. In consequence, having passed the river, she addressed the Cunchese general with such eloquence in favour of the strangers, that, without foreseeing the consequences, he permitted them to pass unmolested. The Cunches are one of the most valiant nations of Chili. They inhabit that tract of country which lies upon the sea, between the river Calacalla, at present called Valdivia, and the Archipelago of Chiloé. They are the allies of the Araucanians, and mortal enemies to the Spaniards, and are divided into several tribes, which, like those in the other parts of Chili, are governed by their respective Ulmenes.

The Spanish commander, having passed the river with his troops, founded upon the southern shore the sixth city, which he called Valdivia, being the first of the American conquerors who sought in this manner to perpetuate his family name. This settlement, of which at present only the fortress remains, in a few years attained a considerable degree of prosperity, not only from the superior fineness of the gold dug in its mines, which has obtained it the privilege of a mint, but from the excellence of its harbour, one of the most secure and pleasant in the South Sea. The river is very broad, and so deep that ships of the line may anchor within a few feet of the shore; it also forms several other harbours in the vicinity.

Valdivia, satisfied with the conquests or rather incursions that he had made, turned back, and in repassing the provinces of Puren, Tucapel, and Arauco, built in each of them, in 1553, a fortress, to secure the possession of the others, as he well knew that from these provinces alone he had to apprehend any attempt that might prove fatal to his settlements. Ercilla says that, in this expedition, the Spaniards had to sustain many battles with the natives, which is highly probable, as the continuance of Lincoyan in the command can upon no other principle be accounted for.

But these actions, ill-conducted through the cowardly caution of the general, were very far from checking the torrent that inundated the provinces.

Without reflecting upon the imprudence of occupying so large an extent of country with so small a force, Valdivia had the farther rashness on his return to Santiago to dispatch Francis de Aguirre, with two hundred men, to conquer the provinces of Cujo and Tucuman, situated to the east of the Andes. It is true that about this time he received by sea from Peru a considerable body of recruits, and 350 unmounted horses, but this reinforcement was little, compared to the vast number of people necessary to retain in subjection.

Nevertheless, indefatigable in the execution of his extensive plans, which bore a flattering appearance of success, the Spanish general returned to Araucania, and in the province of Encol founded the seventh and last city, in a country fertile in vines, and gave it the name of the City of the Frontiers. This name, from events which could not possibly have been in the calculation of Valdivia, has become strictly applicable to its present state, as its ruins are in reality situated upon the confines of the Spanish settlement in that part of Chili. It was a rich and commercial city, and its wines were transported to Buenos Ayres by a road over the Cordilleras.

The Encyclopedia contains a description of this place under the name of Angol, which it was afterwards called by the Spaniards, and speaks of it as at present existing.

After having made suitable provisions for this colony, Valdivia returned to his favourite city of Conception, where he instituted the three principal military offices, that of quarter-master-general, of serjeant-major, and of commissary, a regulation that has ever since prevailed in the royal army of Chili.* He then sent Alderete to Spain with a particular account of his conquests, and a large sum of money, and commissioned him to use his utmost exertions to obtain for him the perpetual government of the conquered country, with the title of Marquis of Arauco. At the same time he dispatched Francis Ulloa with a ship to examine the Straits of Magellan, by which he hoped to open a direct communication with Europe, without depending upon Peru.

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* But two of these offices at present exist; that of the quarter-master-general, who is also called the Intendant, and resides in the city of Conception; and that of the serjeant-major—the latter has been since divided into two, one for the cavalry, the other for the infantry. That of commissary is only known in the city militia.

CHAP. II.

Caupolican appointed Toqui; He attacks the Forts of Arauco and of Tucapel; The Spanish Army entirely defeated, and Valdivia slain.

Whilst Valdivia was engrossed in the contemplation of his extensive plans, without suspecting the cruel reverse that fortune was preparing for him, an old Ulmen of the province of Arauco, called Colocolo, animated with the love of his country, quitted the retirement to which he had long before betaken himself, and with indefatigable zeal traversed the Araucanian provinces, exciting anew the courage of his countrymen, rendered torpid by their disasters, and soliciting them to make choice of a general capable of dislodging the Spaniards from the posts they had occupied in consequence of the improper conduct of Lincoyan. This chief had acquired throughout the country the reputation of wisdom, and was well versed in the knowledge of government; his great age and experience had procured him the esteem of the whole nation, and they had always recourse to him on occasions of the greatest importance.

The Ulmenes, who were already of the same opinion, immediately assembled, according to their custom, in a meadow, and, after the usual feast, began to consult upon the election. Many aspired to the glory of being the avengers of their oppressed country, among whom Andalican, Elicura, Ongolmo, Renco, and Tucapel, were particularly distinguished. The latter, who by his martial prowess had given his name to the province of which he was Apo-Ulmen, possessed a powerful party, but the more prudent electors were opposed to his appointment, as he was of an impetuous character, and they dreaded his hastening the ruin of the state. Dissentions ran so high, that the opposite parties were on the point of having recourse to arms, when the venerable Colocolo arose, and, by a well-timed and energetic address, so far pacified their irritated minds, that all, with one accord, submitted to his choice the appointment of a commander. The wise old man, on whom every eye was fixed, named, without hesitation, Caupolican, the Ulmen of Pilmayquen, a district of Tucapel, who, with that modesty that marks a great character, had not offered himself as one of the candidates.

All the nation applauded the choice of Colocolo, as the person appointed was a serious, patient, sagacious, and valiant man, possessing, in short, all the qualities of a great general. His lofty stature, uncommon bodily strength, and the majesty of his countenance, although deficient in an eye, gave an additional lustre to the inestimable endowments of his mind. Having assumed the axe, the badge of his authority, he immediately appointed the officers who were to command under him, among whom were all his competitors, and even Lincoyan himself; but the office of Vice Toqui he reserved for Mariantu, in whom he had the utmost confidence. The violent Tucapel, who aspired to the chief command, did not disdain to serve under his vassal, manifesting by this, that the sole motive of his ambition was his wish to serve his country.

The Araucanians, who considered themselves invincible under their new Toqui, were desirous of going immediately from the place of meeting to attack the Spaniards; but Caupolican, who was no less politic than valiant, repressed this ardour with prudent arguments, advising them to provide themselves with good arms, in order to be in readiness at the first orders. He then reviewed his army, and resolved to commence his operations by a stratagem, which on the day of his expedition was suggested to him by accident: Having that morning taken a party of eighty Indians, auxiliaries of the Spaniards, who were conducting forage to the neighbouring post of Arauco, he substituted in their place an equal number of his bravest soldiers, under the command of Cajuguenu and Alcatipay, whom he directed to keep their arms concealed among the bundles of grass, and to maintain possession of the gate of the fortress until he could come to their assistance with his army.

The pretended foragers performed their parts so well, that without the least suspicion they were admitted into the fortress. Immediately they seized their arms, attacked the guard, and began to kill all that came in their way. The remainder of the garrison, under the command of Francis Reynoso, hastened, well armed, to the scene of tumult, opposed them vigorously, and after an obstinate contest, drove them from the gate at the very moment of the arrival of the Araucanian army; so that they had but just time to raise the draw-bridge and hasten to the defence of the walls. Although Caupolican was disappointed in his expectations, he hoped, however, to derive some advantage from the confusion of the enemy, and, encouraging his soldiers, assailed the fortress upon every side, notwithstanding the continual fire of the besieged from two cannon and six field pieces. But perceiving that he lost a great number of men, he resolved to turn the assault intó a blockade, expecting to reduce the place by famine.

After various unsuccessful sallies, in which they lost many of their companions, the Spaniards resolved to abandon the fort, and retire to that of Puren. This measure had indeed become necessary, as their provisions began to fail, and they had no hope of being relieved. In pursuance of this plan, at midnight they mounted their horses, and suddenly opening the gate, rushed out at full speed, and escaped through the midst of their enemies; the Araucanians, who supposed it to be one of their customary sallies, taking no measures to obstruct their flight.

Caupolican having destroyed this fortress, led his troops to attack that of Tucapel. This post was garrisoned by forty men, under the command of Martin Erizar. That distinguished officer defended himself valiantly for several days, but much weakened by the continual assaults of the enemies, and provisions failing him, he determined to withdraw to the same fort of Puren, whither the garrison of Arauco had retreated, which he executed, either in consequence of a capitulation with Caupolican, or by an artifice similar to that which had succeeded so fortunately with the commander of Arauco.

The Araucanian general having destroyed these fortresses, which caused him the greatest anxiety, encamped with his army on the ruins of that of Tucapel, to wait the approach of the Spaniards, who, as he supposed, would not be long in coming against him. No sooner had Valdivia, who was then in Conception, learned the siege of Arauco, when he began his march for that place, with all the forces that he could collect in so short a time, in opposition to the advice of his most experienced officers, who appear to have had a presentiment of what was to happen.

The Spanish historians of that period, as they felt a greater or less desire of diminishing the loss of their countrymen, vary greatly in their accounts of the number of Spanish and Indian auxiliaries, who accompanied him in this unfortunate expedition. According to some, he had only two hundred of the first, and five thousand of the latter. Others reduce even this to only half the number. The same uncertainty is to be found in their accounts of the number of the enemy, some making it amount to nine, and others to more than ten thousand. If both the hostile parties possessed historical documents, we might, from comparing their different accounts, probably obtain a tolerable accurate calculation, but the means of information we are obliged to have recourse to, are all derived from the same source. Nevertheless, on considering the important consequences of this battle, we are induced to believe that the loss was much greater than is pretended.

On approaching within a short distance of the enemy's encampment, Valdivia sent Diego del Oro forward to reconnoitre them with ten horse. This detachment falling in with an advanced party of the Araucanians, were all slain by them, and their heads cut off and suspended to trees upon the road. The Spanish soldiers, on arriving at this spot, were filled with horror at the sight of such an unexpected spectacle, and notwithstanding their accustomed intrepidity, were solicitous to return. Valdivia himself began to regret his having disregarded the advice of his older officers, but piqued by the haughty boasts of the young, who, notwithstanding the mournful evidence before them, declared that ten of them were sufficient to put to flight the Araucanian army, he continued his march, and on the 3d of December, 1553, came in sight of the enemy's camp. The ruins of Tucapel, the well-regulated array of the hostile army, the insulting scoffs of their enemies, who in a loud voice called them robbers and impostors, filled the minds of the soldiers, accustomed to command and to be treated with respect, with mingled sentiments of indignation and terror.

The two armies continued a long time observing each other; at length Mariantu, who commanded the right wing of the Araucanians, commenced the combat by moving against the left of the Spaniards under the command of Bovadilla, who marched to attack him with a detachment, which was immediately surrounded, and all of them cut in pieces. The serjeant-major, who was dispatched by Valdivia to his assistance with another detachment, experienced a similar fate. Meanwhile Tucapel, who commanded the left wing of the Araucanians, began the attack upon his side with his usual impetuosity. The action now became general; the Spaniards, furnished with superior arms, and animated by the example of their valiant leader, who performed the duty of a soldier as well as that of a general, overthrew and destroyed whole ranks of their enemies. But the Araucanians, notwithstanding the slaughter made among them by the cannon and musketry, continued constantly to supply with fresh troops the places of those that were slain. Three times they retired in good order beyond the reach of the musketry, and as often, resuming new vigour, returned to the attack. At length, after the loss of a great number of their men, they were thrown into disorder and began to give way. Caupolican, Tucapel, and the intrepid Colocolo, who was present in the action, in vain attempted to prevent their flight and reanimate their courage. The Spaniards shouted victory, and furiously pressed upon the fugitives.

At this momentous crisis, a young Araucanian of but sixteen years of age, called Lautaro, whom Valdivia in one of his incursions had taken prisoner, baptized, and made his page, quitted the victorious party, began loudly to reproach his countrymen with their cowardice, and exhorted them to continue the contest, as the

Spaniards, wounded and spent with fatigue, were no longer able to resist them. At the same time grasping a lance, he turned against his late master, crying out, " Follow me, my countrymen, victory courts us with open arms." The Araucanians ashamed at being surpassed by a boy, turned with such fury upon their enemies, that at the first shock they put them to rout, cutting in pieces the Spaniards and their allies, so that of the whole of this army, only two Promaucians had the fortune to escape, by fleeing to a neighbouring wood.

The Spanish general having lost all hope, had retired in the beginning of the massacre with his chaplain, to prepare himself for death ; but being pursued and taken by the victors, he was brought before Caupolican, of whom, in an humble manner, he implored his life, soliciting the good offices of Lautaro, and most solemnly promising to quit Chili with all his people.

The Araucanian general, naturally compassionate, and desirous of obliging Lautaro, who joined in soliciting him, was disposed to grant the request. But while he was deliberating, an old Ulmen of great authority in the country, enraged to hear them talk of sparing his life, dispatched the unfortunate prisoner with a blow of his club ; saying, that they must be mad to trust to the promises of an ambitious enemy, who, as soon as he had escaped from this danger, would make a mock of them, and laugh at his oaths. Caupolican was highly exasperated at this conduct, and would have punished it with severity had not the greater part of his officers opposed themselves to his just resentment.

Such was the tragic fate of the conqueror, Pedro de Valdivia, a man unquestionably possessed of a superior mind, and great political and military talents, but who, seduced by the romantic spirit of his age, knew not how to employ them to the best advantage. His undertakings would have proved fortunate, had he properly estimated his own strength, and, without being deceived by the example of the Peruvians, despised the Chilians less. History does not impute to him any of those cruelties with which his contemporaries, the other conquerors, are accused. It is true, that in the records of the Franciscans, two of those monks are mentioned with applause for having, by their humane remonstrances, dissuaded him from the commission of those cruelties that were at first exercised towards the natives of the country; but this severity does not appear to have been so great as to have obtained the notice of any historian. He has been by some accused of avarice, and they pretend that, in punishment of this vice, the Araucanians put him to death by pouring melted gold into his throat; but this is a fiction copied from a similar story of antiquity.

This victory, which was gained in the evening, was celebrated the day following with all kind of games and diversions, in a meadow surrounded with large trees, to which were suspended as trophies the heads of their enemies. An immense crowd of people from the neighbouring country flocked thither to witness with their own eyes the destruction of an army which they had till then considered as invincible, and to join in the diversions of the festival. The officers, in token of victory, wore the clothes of their slain enemies, and Caupolican himself put on the armour and surcoat of Valdivia, which was embroidered with gold.

CHAP. III.

The Spaniards abandon Puren, Angol, and Villarica; Caupolican lays siege to Imperial and Valdivia; Lautaro defeats the Spanish army in Mariguenu, and destroys Conception.

When the rejoicings were over, Caupolican, taking the young Lautaro by the hand, presented him to the national assembly, which had met to concert measures for the further prosecution of the war, and after having spoken highly in his praise, attributing to him the whole success of the preceding day, he appointed him his lieutenant-general extraordinary, with the privilege of commanding in chief another army, which he intended to raise to protect the frontiers from the invasion of the Spaniards. This appointment was approved and applauded by all present, as Lautaro, besides the inappreciable service he had rendered his country, and the nobleness of his origin, being one of the order of Ulmenes, was endowed with singular beauty and affability, and possessed talents far surpassing his years. Their sentiments upon the operations of the next campaign were various. Colocolo, with a great part of the Ulmenes, was of opinion that in the first place they ought to free their country from the foreign establishments that were still remaining. But Tucapel, followed by the most daring of the officers, maintained, that in the present circumstances they ought to attack the Spaniards immediately while in a state of consternation, in the very centre of their colonies, in the city of Santiago itself, and pursue them if it were possible to Spain. Caupolican applauded the sentiments of Tucapel, but adhered to the counsel of the elder chiefs, recommending it as the most secure and most beneficial for the country.

Whilst they were deliberating upon these important objects, Lincoyan, who was traversing the country with a detachment of troops, fell in with and attacked a party of fourteen Spaniards coming from Imperial to the assistance of Valdivia, of whose fate they were uninformed. These, in making head against the enemy, whom they soon expected to put to flight, regretted that their number was not reduced to twelve, in order to be able to style themselves, according to the chivalrous idea of the age, "*the twelve of fame.*" But their wishes were soon more than fulfilled, for at the first encounter but seven of their company were left, who, taking advantage of the swiftness of their horses, escaped, severely wounded, to the fortress of Puren.

Having brought with them the news of the total rout of Valdivia's army, the Spanish inhabitants of the city of the Frontiers and of Puren, thinking themselves insecure within their walls, retired to Imperial. The same was the case with those of Villarica, who abandoned their houses, and took refuge in Valdivia. Thus had the Araucanians only these two places to attack. Caupolican having determined to besiege them, committed to Lautaro the care of defending the northern frontier. The young Vice Toqui fortified himself upon the lofty mountain of Mariguenu, situated on the road which leads to the province of Arauco, supposing, as it happened, that the Spaniards, desirous of revenging the death of their general, would take that road in search of Caupolican. This mountain, which on several occasions has proved fatal to the Spaniards, has on its summit a large plain interspersed with shady trees. Its sides are full of clefts and precipices; on the part towards the west the sea beats with great violence, and at the east it is secured by impenetrable thickets. A winding bye-path on the north was the only road that led to the summit of the mountain.

In the meantime, the two Promaucians who had alone escaped the destruction of the Spanish army, having reached Conception, filled that city with the utmost consternation. As soon as the general terror had a little subsided, the magistrates proceeded to open the instructions of

Valdivia, which he had left with them at his departure. In these he had named as his successors in the government, in the event of his death, Alderete, Aguirre, and Francis Villagran. But the first being absent in Europe, and the second in Cujo, the supreme command devolved upon Villagran. This general, who possessed more prudence than Valdivia, after making the necessary preparations, began his march for Arauco, with a considerable number of Spanish and auxiliary forces.

He crossed the Bio-bio without opposition, but at a little distance from thence, in a narrow pass, he encountered a body of Araucanians, by whom he was vigorously opposed. But after a severe action of three hours they were defeated and withdrew, constantly fighting towards the summits where Lautaro, defended by a strong palisade, awaited their approach with the residue of his army. Three companies of the Spanish horse were ordered to force the difficult passage of the mountain, and having, after great labour and fatigue, arrived within a short distance of the summit, they were received with a shower of stones, arrows, and other missive weapons, which were incessantly poured upon their heads. Villagran, in the meantime, perceiving that several parties were detached from the camp of the enemy, with an intention of surrounding him.

ordered the musketry to advance, and the fire to commence from six field pieces, which he had placed in a favourable situation to annoy them.

The mountain was covered with smoke, and resounded with the thunder of the cannon and the whistling of bullets that fell upon every side. But Lautaro, in the midst of this confusion, firmly maintained his post; and perceiving that his principal loss proceeded from the cannon, he directed Leucoton, one of his bravest captains, to go with his company and take possession of them, commanding him at the same time, with an authority derived more from his high reputation than his office, not to venture to see him again until he had executed the order. That valiant officer, in defiance of death, rushed with such violence upon the corps of artillery, that after a furious and bloody contest, he carried off all the cannon in triumph.

In the meantime Lautaro, to prevent the Spaniards from sending succours to their artillery, attacked them so vigorously with all his troops, that, driving horse and foot in confusion before him, the Spaniards were thrown into disorder, and unable to recover their ranks, precipitately betook themselves to flight. Of the Europeans and their Indian allies, three thousand were left dead upon the field. Villagran, having fallen, was on the point of being taken prisoner himself, when three of his soldiers, by almost incredible feats of valour, rescued him from the hands of his enemies, and remounted him on his horse. The remaining Spaniards, pursued by the victors, spurred on their exhausted horses, in order to pass the narrow defile where the battle had commenced, but on their arrival they found it obstructed, by the order of Lautaro, with the trunks of fallen trees. Here the engagement was again renewed with such violence, that not one of the miserable remains of this broken army would have escaped, had not Villagran, by a desperate effort, opened the pass at the most imminent hazard of his life. The Araucanians, although they had lost about seven hundred men, continued the pursuit for a long time; but at length becoming extremely fatigued, and not able to keep up with the horses, they stopped with a determination of passing the Bio-bio the following day.

The few Spaniards who escaped the slaughter produced, on their arrival at Conception, indescribable sorrow and consternation. There was not a family but had the loss of some relation to deplore. The alarm was greatly heightened by the news of the near approach of Lautaro. Villagran, who thought it impossible to defend the city, embarked precipitately the old men, the women and the children, on board of two ships that were then fortunately in the harbour, with orders to the captains to conduct part of them to

Imperial, and part to Valparaiso; while with the rest of the inhabitants he proceeded by land to Santiago.

Lautaro, on entering the deserted city, found in it a very great booty, as its commerce and mines had rendered it very opulent, and the citizens more attentive to save their lives than their riches, had on their departure taken scarcely any thing with them except a few provisions. After having burned the houses and razed the citadel to its foundation, the victor returned with his army to celebrate his triumph in Arauco.

CHAP. IV.

Villagran raises the siege of Imperial and of Valdivia; The small-pox break out among the Araucanians; Conception having been rebuilt, Lautaro returns and destroys it; He marches against Santiago, and is killed.

MEANWHILE the commanders of the cities of Imperial and Valdivia, closely besieged by Caupolican, demanded succours of the governor, who, notwithstanding his late losses, failed not to send them, with all possible speed, a sufficient number of troops for their defence. The Araucanian general, believing it difficult under such circumstances to possess himself of those places, raised the siege, and went to join Lautaro, to attempt with their combined forces some other enterprise of greater importance.

Villagran, availing himself of the absence of the enemy, ravaged all the country in the vicinity of Imperial, burned the houses and the crops, and transported to the city all the provisions that were not destroyed, Such rigorous measures he vindicated by the pretended rights of war, but they usually produce no other effect than that of distressing the weak and the helpless. In other respects he was humane, and averse to violence, and his generosity was acknowledged even by his enemies. During his government, no one was ill treated or put to death except in the field of battle.

To the terrible calamities that usually follow in the train of war, was added that of the pestilence. Some of the Spanish soldiers, who were either infected at the time, or had but recently recovered from the small-pox, in the above incursions made by Villagran, communicated for the first time that fatal disease to the Araucanian provinces, which made there the greater ravages, as they were entirely nnacquainted with it. Of the several districts of the country there was one whose population amounted to twelve thousand persons, of which number not more than one hundred escaped with life.* This pestilential disorder, which from its long continuation has been more fatal than any other to the human race, had been a few years before introduced into the northern parts of Chili, where it has since from time to time re-appeared, attended with great mortality to the natives. The southern provinces have for more than a century been exempted from its ravages, by the precautions employed by the inhabitants, to prevent all communication with the infected countries, as is the case with the plague in Europe.

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* The following anecdote will show the horror with which the small-pox inspired the Indians: " Some time since, the viceroy of Peru sent as a present to the governor, Juan Xaraquemada, from Limi to Chili, several jars of powder, honey, wine, olives, and different kinds of seed; one of these being accidentally broken in unlading, the Indians who were in the service of the Spaniards having noticed it, imagined that it was the purulent matter of the small-pox, which the governor had imported in order to disseminate among their provinces, and exterminate them by this means. They immediately gave notice to their countrymen, who stopped all communication and took up arms, killing forty Spaniards who were among them in full security of peace. The governor, to revenge this

Whilst Villagran was employing all his attention, in maintaining as far as possible the Spanish power in those parts, and in opposing those victorious enemies who were endeavouring to annihilate it, he saw himself on the point of being compelled to turn his arms against his own countrymen. Francis Aguirre, who in Valdivia's instructions had been named the second as governor, on learning the death of that general, quitted Cujo, where it appears he effected nothing of importance, and with sixty men who were left of his detachment, returned to Chili, determined to possess himself of the government either by favour or force. His pretensions must

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outrage, entered the Araucanian territory, and thus, owing to the suspicion of these barbarians, was a war excited, which was continued until Don Alonzo de Rivera returned a second time to assume the government of the kingdom."—*Jeronimo Quiroga's Memoirs of the War of Chili,* chap. 74.

infallibly have produced a civil war between Villagran and himself, with great detriment to the success of the Spaniards, had they not both consented to submit their claims to the decision of the Royal Audience of Lima. This court, whose jurisdiction at that time (1555) extended over the whole of South-America, did not think proper to commit the government to either, but in their place directed that the Corregidors of the cities should have the command each in his respective district, until farther orders.

The inhabitants, perceiving the inconveniences that must result from this poliarchy, especially in time of war, sent a remonstrance to the Court of Audience, who hearkened to their reasons, and appointed Villagran to the command, as more experienced in the business of the kingdom than Aguirre, but conferred on him only the title of Corregidor, ordering him at the same time to rebuild the city of Conception. Although he was convinced of the inutility of this measure, yet, to evince his obedience, he proceeded thither immediately with eighty-five families, whom he established there, and defended with a strong fortification.

The natives of the country, indignant to be rendered again subject to a foreign yoke, had recourse to their protectors, the Araucanians. Caupolican, who, during this interval either through ignorance of the proceedings of the

Spaniards or for some other reason of which we are not informed, had not left his encampment, sent to their assistance two thousand men under the command of Lautaro, who was well experienced in such expeditions. The young general, exasperated against what he had termed obstinacy, passed the Bio-bio without delay, and attacked the Spaniards, who, imprudently confiding in their valour, awaited him in the open plain. The first encounter decided the fate of the batt'e. The citizens, struck with terror, returned to the fort with such precipitation as not even to have an opportunity of closing the gate. The Araucanians entered with them, and killed a great number. The remainder were dispersed, part of them embarking in a ship which was in the port, and part taking refuge in the woods, whence by bye-paths they returned to Santiago. Lautaro, having plundered and burned the city as before, returned laden with spoils to his wonted station.

The success of this enterprise excited Caupolican to undertake once more the sieges of Imperial and Valdivia. The glorious exploits of his Lieutenant stimulated him to attempts of greater importance, and such as were worthy of the supreme command. Lautaro undertook to make a diversion of the Spanish forces, by marching against Santiago, as the capture of this city appeared to him an enterprise of not much difficulty, notwithstanding its great distance. His continued victories had so heightened his confidence, that nothing appeared to him impossible to be overcome.

In order to carry into effect this hazardous enterprise, he required but five hundred men, to be selected by himself; but those who pressed to march under his standard were so numerous, that he was compelled to receive another hundred. The two generals then separated amidst the joyful acclamations of the nation, who, thoughtless of the reverses of fortune, flattered themselves with the most fortunate issue to their expeditions.

Lautaro, at the head of his six hundred companions, traversed all the provinces lying between the Bio-bio and the Maúle, without doing the least injury to the natives, who called him their deliverer. But when he had passed this last river, he began cruelly to lay waste the lands of the hated Promaucians, whom, had he then treated with kindness, he would have detached from the Spanish interest, and united to his party. But the intemperate desire of revenge did not allow him to foresee the good effects that this opportune reconciliation might produce to the common cause.

After having taken revenge, in some measure, upon these betrayers of the country as he called them, he fortified himself in their territory, in an advantageous post, situated on the shore of the

Rio-claro, with the view, most probably, of gaining more correct information of the state of the city he intended to attack, or to await there the coming of his enemies, and to cut them off from time to time. This ill-timed delay was very important to the inhabitants of Santiago, who, when they were first informed of his approach, could not believe it possible that he should have the boldness to make a journey of three hundred miles in order to attack them. But undeceived by the refugees of Conception, whom fatal experience had too well taught the enterprising character of this mortal enemy of Spain, they thought proper to make some preparations for defence. With this view they first dispatched Juan Godinez, with twenty-five horsemen, to the country of the Promaucians, in order to learn if the information they had received was true, to watch the motions and discover the designs of the enemy, and to send back immediate intelligence. He was, however, able to execute but a part of his commission; for, being unexpectedly attacked by a detachment of the Araucanians, he returned precipitately, with his men diminished in number and filled with consternation, to bring the news. The victors took upon this occasion ten horses and some arms, which they made use of in the succeeding actions. The Corregidor, who was at that time sick, gave orders to his eldest son, Pedro, to march with such troops as he could raise against Lautaro, and proceeded to fortify the city in the best manner possible, guarding all its approaches with strong works. Pedro in the meantime attacked the Araucanians in their entrenchments, who, instructed by their commander, after a short resistance pretended to take flight; but no sooner had their enemies entered the abandoned enclosure, than they turned and fell upon them with such impetuosity, that they entirely routed them, and the cavalry alone were able to save themselves from slaughter.

Young Villagran, receiving new reinforcements, returned three times to the attack of Lautaro's camp, but being constantly repulsed with loss, he encamped his army in a low meadow, on the shore of the Mataquito. The Araucanian general, who occupied a neighbouring mountain, formed the plan of inundating at night the Spanish encampment, by turning upon them a branch of the river. But this bold design, which would have ensured the destruction of the Spaniards, failed of success, as Villagran, being informed of it by a spy, retired, a short time before it was carried into execution, with his army to Santiago.

The elder Villagran having recovered his health, and being strongly solicited by the citizens, who every moment expected to see the Araucanians at their gates, at length, in 1556, began his march with 196 Spaniards and 1000 auxiliaries in search of Lautaro. But too well remembering the defeat of Mariguenu, he resolved to attack him by surprise. With this intent he quitted the great road, secretly directed his march by the sea shore, and, under the guidance of a spy, by a private path came at day break upon the Araucanian encampment.

Lautaro, who at that moment had retired to rest, after having been upon guard, as was his custom during the night, leaped from his bed at the first alarm of the sentinels, and ran to the intrenchments to observe the enemy. At the same time a dart, hurled by one of the Indian auxiliaries, pierced his heart, and he fell lifeless in the arms of his companions. It would seem that fortune, hitherto propitious, was desirous by so sudden a death to save him from the mortification of finding himself for the first time in his life defeated. It is, however, not improbable that his genius, so fertile in expedients, would have suggested to him some plan to have baffled the attempts of the assailants, if this fatal accident had not occurred.

Encouraged by this unexpected success, Villagran attacked the fortification on all sides, and forced an entrance, notwithstanding the obstinate resistance of the Araucanians, who, retiring to an angle of the works, determined rather to be cut to pieces than to surrender themselves to those who had slain their beloved general. In vain the Spanish commander repeatedly offered them quarter. None of them would accept it excepting a few of the neighbouring Indians, who happened accidentally to be in their camp. The Araucanians perished to the last man, and fought with such obstinacy that they sought for death by throwing themselves on the lances of their enemies.

This victory, which was not obtained without great loss by the victors, was celebrated for three days in succession in Santiago, and in the other Spanish settlements, with all those demonstrations of joy customary upon occasions of the greatest success. The Spaniards felicitated themselves on being at last freed from an enemy, who at the early age of nineteen had already obtained so many victories over their nation, and who possessed talents capable of entirely destroying their establishments in Chili, and even harassing them in Peru, as he had resolved upon when he had restored the liberty of his native country.

As soon as the terror inspired by this young hero had ceased with his life, the sentiments of hostility, as almost always happens, were succeeded by those of generosity. His enemies themselves highly applauded his valour and military talents, and compared him to the most celebrated generals that have appeared in the world. They even called him the Chilian Hannibal, from a fancied resemblance between his character, and that of the famous Carthaginian general, although, in some respects, it had a much greater similarity to that of Scipio. To use the words of the Abbé Olivarez—"It is not just to depreciate his merit whom, had he been ours, we should have elevated to the rank of a hero. If we celebrate with propriety the martial prowess of the Spanish Viriatus, we ought not to obscure that of the American Lautaro, when both contended with the same valour in the cause of their country."

The Araucanians for a long time lamented the loss of their valiant countryman, to whom they owed all the success of their arms, and on whose conduct and valour they entirely relied for the recovery of their liberties. His name is still celebrated in their heroic songs, and his actions proposed as the most glorious model for the imitation of their youth. But above all, Caupolican felt this fatal loss: As he was a sincere lover of his country, far from thinking he was freed from a rival, he believed he had lost his chief co-operator in the glorious work of restoring it to freedom. As soon as he received the mournful news, he quitted the siege of Imperial, which was reduced to the last extremity, and returned with his army to the frontiers to protect them from the incursions of the enemy, who, he had learned from his spies, expected a large supply of men and warlike stores from Peru, with a new commander.

CHAP. V.

Don Garcia de Mendoza arrives at Chili with a reinforcement of troops; His expedition against Caupolican.

PHILIP the Second, who had succeeded his father, Charles the Fifth, on the throne of Spain, having learned the death of Valdivia, gave in charge to his agent Alderete, the government and the conquest of Chili, furnishing him for this purpose with six hundred regular troops. During the passage his sister, who was accustomed to read in bed, set fire by accident to the ship in the vicinity of Porto-Bello. Of the whole number, Alderete and three soldiers were all that escaped, and he himself soon after, overcome with grief and disappointment, died in the little island of Taboga, in the gulph of Panama.

The Marquis of Canete, viceroy of Peru, being informed of this disaster, appointed to the vacant office his son Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza. But as this charge had now become very dangerous, he resolved that at his departure he should be accompanied by a body of troops capable of supporting him, and acquiring him, if possible, the glory of terminating with success the obstinate war with the Araucanians. With this view he caused a great number of recruits to be raised throughout his extensive viceroyalty. The civil dissentions being at an end, Peru at that time abounded with military adventurers who were desirous of employment. Of course he was in a short time joined by a large number of soldiers, part of whom, from a warlike spirit, and others from a desire to obtain favour with the viceroy, offered to fight under the banners of his son.

The infantry, well equipped and appointed with a great quantity of military stores, embarked on board of ten ships under the command of Don Garcia in person, and the cavalry pursued their way by land under the orders of the quarter-master-general, Garcia Ramon. The fleet arrived in April, 1557, in the bay of Conception, and came to anchor near the island of Quiriquina, which, being the most secure situation, had been chosen for the head quarters. The few inhabitants who were found there bravely attempted to prevent the disembarkation; but being soon dispersed by the artillery, they retired in their piragues to the continent. The governor having taken some of the hindmost, sent two or three to the Araucanians, with directions to inform them of his arrival, and the desire he had of settling a lasting peace with them.

The Ulmenes, being convened to consider of this embassy, were generally of opinion that no propositions ought to be listened to from an enemy who had returned in greater force, it being impossible that they should be other than treacherous or unfair. But old Colocolo, who was the soul of the union, observed that no injury could arise from their hearing the proposals of the Spanish general; that this was a favourable opportunity for discovering his designs, and of obtaining a knowledge of his forces; that for this purpose he thought it advisable to send a discerning and intelligent man, who, under the pretence of congratulating the new governor upon his arrival, and of thanking him for the wish that he expressed of coming to an amicable accommodation, would gain information of whatever he should think of importance to regulate their future conduct.

Caupolican, with the greater part of the old officers, adopted this wise counsel, and confided this important commission to Millalauco, who possessed all the qualities requisite for such an envoy. This ambassador passed the narrow strait that separates the island of Quiriquina from the continent, and, with all the pride peculiar to his nation, presented himself to the Spaniards. They in return, to give him a great idea of their power, received him arranged in order of battle, and conducted him amidst the discharge of their artillery to the tent of the general. Millalauco, not in the least disconcerted by all this millitary parade, complimented the governor in the name of Caupolican, and in a few words declared to him the pleasure that he and all his people would feel in the establishment of an honourable and advantageous peace to both nations, adding, that he was induced to this, not from any dread of his power, but from motives of humanity.

Don Garcia was by no means satisfied with these vague offers, so little correspondent to his views; he replied, however, with the same general professions respecting peace, and after having regaled the ambassador in a magnificent manner, he ordered his officers to conduct him over the whole encampment, in order to intimidate him by the appearance of the immense military preparations that he had brought with him. Nothing could better suit the wishes of Millalauco; he observed every thing with attention, though with apparent indifference, and taking leave of the Spaniards, returned home. The Araucanians, on receiving such particular information, placed sentinels along the coast to observe the movements of their enemies, and began to prepare for war, which they believed to be near and inevitable.

Don Garcia, however, continued almost the whole winter in the island, waiting for the cavalry from Peru, and the reinforcements he had required from the cities of his jurisdiction. At length, on the night of the 6th of August, he privately landed one hundred and thirty men with several engineers upon the plain of Conception, and immediately took possession of Mount Pinto, which commands the harbour, where he constructed a fort, furnished with a large number of cannon and a deep ditch.

The Araucanian spies failed not to give immediate information to Caupolican of what had taken place. That general, hastily collecting his troops, passed the Bio-bio on the 9th of the same month, and on the next morning at daybreak, a period remarkable in Europe for the defeat of the French at St. Quintin, he attacked the fortress upon three sides, having sent forward a body of pioneers to fill up the ditch with fascines and trunks of trees. The attack was continued with all the fury and obstinacy so natural to that people. Numbers mounted on the parapet, and some even leapt within the walls, destroying all that they met with. But the cannon and the musketry, directed by skillful hands, made so dreadful a slaughter, that the ditch was filled with dead bodies, which served for bridges to the new combatants who fearlessly replaced their slain companions. Tucapel, hurried on by his unparalleled rashness, threw himself into the fort, and, killing four of his enemies with his formidable mace, escaped by leaping over a precipice amidst a shower of balls.

Whilst the combat raged with such fury around the fortress, the Spaniards who were in the island, perceiving the danger of the besieged, came over to their aid, and formed themselves in order of battle. Caupolican observing the disembarkation, sent immediately a part of his troops against them. These, after a severe conflict of several hours, were driven back to the mountain, so that the assailants were placed between two fires. They nevertheless lost not their courage, and continued fighting till midday. At length, extremely fatigued with the length of the combat, they withdrew to the Bio-bio with a determination to raise new forces and return to the attack.

Caupolican having in a short time reinforced his army, began his march towards Conception, but learning on the road that the Spaniards had received a numerous reinforcement, he halted on the shore of the Bio-bio, deeply chagrined at not being able to effect what Lautaro had twice performed with the universal applause of the nation. In fact, the day preceding, two thousand auxiliaries had arrived at Conception, with the cavalry, from Peru, consisting of a thousand men well armed, and likewise another squadron of Spanish horse from Imperial.

After his army had sufficiently recovered from their fatigues, Don Garcia resolved to go in quest of the Araucanians in their own territory. For this purpose he crossed the Bio-bio in boats well equipped, at six miles from its mouth, where that river is fifteen hundred paces broad. Caupolican made no attempt to obstruct his passage, as the cannon, placed upon the boats, commanded the whole of the opposite shore; but he had occupied a position not far distant, flanked with thick woods, which, if he were defeated, would facilitate his retreat.

The battle began with a skirmish that was favourable to the Araucanians. The Spanish advanced parties falling in with those of Caupolican were repulsed with loss, notwithstanding the assistance sent them by Ramon the quarter-master-general. Alonzo Reynoso, who was likewise dispatched to their aid with fifty horse, experienced a similar fate, leaving several of his men dead upon the field. The two armies at length met. The Araucanians, encouraged by the advantage they had gained, endeavoured to come to close combat with their enemies, notwithstanding the heavy fire they had to sustain from eight pieces of artillery in front of the Spanish army. But when they came within reach of the musketry, they were not able to advance further, or resist the fire which was well kept up by the veteran troops of Peru. After many ineffectual attempts, they began to give way and fall into confusion from the vacancies caused in their ranks, by the loss of their most determined soldiers. The cavalry at length completely routed them, making a great slaughter of them in their flight to the woods.

Don Garcia, either from disposition or policy, was strongly inclined to pursue rigorous measures. He was the first in this war who introduced, contrary to the opinion of a majority of his officers, the barbarous practice of mutilating,* or of putting to death the prisoners; a system that may serve to awe and restrain a base people, or one accustomed to servitude, but a generous nation detests cruelty, and it only serves to exasperate and render them irreconcileable. Among the prisoners taken upon this occasion was one more daring than any of the others, called Galverino, whose hands Don Garcia ordered to be cut off. He returned to his countrymen, and showing his bloody mutilated stumps, inflamed them with such fury against the Spaniards, that they all swore never to make peace with them, and to put to death any one who should have the baseness to propose such a measure. Even the very women, excited by a desire of revenge, offered to take arms and to fight by the side of their husbands, as they did in the subsequent battles. From hence originated the fable of the Chilian Amazons, placed by some authors in the southern districts of that country.

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* Don Garcia permitted his allies to be as cruel as himself. "They did cut off from certain Indians, being prisoners, the calves of their legs to eat them, and they roasted them for that purpose; and that which is of more admiration, they applied unto the place where they were cut, leaves of certain herbs, and there came not out a drop of blood—and many did see it. And this was done in the city of Santiago, in the presence of D. Garcia de Mendoza, which was a thing that made all men marvel at it."

Pedro de Osma y Xara y Zeio mentions this in a letter to Monardes the physician, written from Lima in 1568. I know not whether it is possible that so powerful a styptic can exist. They who would not believe that the Abyssinians eat food with the blood therein, which is the life, must have been ignorant of the live cannibalism of some of the American savages.—*E. E.*

The victorious army penetrated into the province of Arauco, constantly harassed by the flying camps of the Araucanians, who left them not a moment's rest. Don Garcia, when he arrived at Melipuru, put to the torture several of the natives whom his soldiers had taken, in order to obtain information of Caupolican, but notwithstanding the severity of their torments, none of them would ever discover the place of his retreat. The Araucanian general, on being informed of this barbarous conduct, sent word to him by a messenger, that he was but a short distance, and would come to meet him the following day. The Spaniards, who could not conceive the motive of the message, were alarmed, and passed the whole night under arms.

At day-break Caupolican appeared with his army arranged in three lines. The Spanish cavalry charged with fury the first line, commanded by Caupolican in person, who gave orders to his pikemen to sustain with levelled spears the attack of the horse, and the mace bearers with their heavy clubs to strike at their heads. The cavalry by this unexpected reception being thrown into confusion, the Araucanian general, followed by his men, broke into the centre of the Spanish infantry with great slaughter, killing five enemies with his own hand. Tucapel, advancing in another quarter with his division, at the first attack broke his lance in the body of a Spaniard, and instantly drawing his sword, slew seven others. In these various encounters he received several severe wounds, but perceiving the valiant Rencu surrounded by a crowd of enemies, he fell with such fury upon them, that after killing a considerable number, he rescued his former rival, and conducted him safely out of danger.

Victory, for a long time undecided, was at length on the point of declaring for the Araucanians, when Don Garcia perceiving his men ready to give way, gave orders to a body of reserve to attack the division of the enemy, commanded by Lincoyan and Ongolmo. This order, which was promptly executed, preserved the Spanish army from total ruin. This line of the Araucanians being broken, fell back upon their victorious countrymen, who were thrown into such confusion, that Caupolican, after several ineffectual efforts, despairing of being able to restore order, sounded a retreat, and yielded to his enemies a victory that he deemed secure. The Araucanian army would have been cut in pieces, had not Rencu, by posting himself in a neighbouring wood with a squadron of valiant youth, called thither the attention of the victors, who pursued the fugitives with that deadly fury, that characterized the soldiers of that age. That chief, after having sustained the violence of their attack, for a time sufficient in his opinion to ensure the safety of his countrymen, retired with his companions by a secret path, scoffing at his enemies.

CHAP. VI.

Don Garcia orders twelve Ulmenes to be hanged; He founds the city of Canete; Caupolican, attempting to surprise it, is defeated, and his army entirely dispersed.

The Spanish general, before he quitted Melirupu, caused twelve Ulmenes whom he found among the prisoners, to be hung to the trees that surrounded the field of battle. Galvarino was also condemned to the same punishment. This unfortunate youth, notwithstanding the loss of his hands, had accompanied the Araucanian army, had never ceased during the battle to incite his countrymen to fight vigorously, showing his mutilated arms, while he attempted with his teeth and feet to do all the injury he could to his enemies. One of the Ulmenes, overcome with terror, petitioned for his life, but Galvarino reproached him so severely for his cowardice, and inspired him with such contempt for death, that he refused the pardon which was granted him, and demanded to die the first, as an atonement for his weakness, and the scandal he had brought upon the Araucanian name.

After this fruitless execution, Don Garcia proceeded to the province of Tucapel, and coming to the place where Valdivia had been defeated, he built there, in contempt of his conquerors, a city, which he called Canete, from the titular appellation of his family. As this settlement was in the centre of the enemy's country, he thought proper to strengthen it with a good palisade, a ditch, a rampart, and a great number of cannon, and gave the command to Alonzo Reynoso, with a select garrison. After which, imagining that the Araucanians, who had been defeated in three successive battles, were no longer in a condition to oppose his conquering arms, he departed for Imperial, where he was received in triumph.

Soon after his arrival at Imperial, he sent from thence to the inhabitants of his new city a plentiful supply of provisions, under a strong convoy, who were attacked and routed in the narrow pass of Cayucupil by a body of Araucanians. But these having ill-timedly began to seize the baggage, gave the Spaniards an opportunity of escaping with little loss, and reaching the place of their destination. The citizens received them with the greatest demonstrations of joy, their assistance being much wanted in case Caupolican, as was reported, should attack and endeavour to force them from that post. Nor were these merely idle rumours. That indefatigable general, whom misfortune seemed to inspire with greater courage, a few days afterwards made a furious assault upon the place, in which his valiant troops, with arms so far inferior to their enemies, supported a continual fire for five hours, now scaling the rampart, now pulling up or burning the palisades. But perceiving that valour alone could not avail him in this difficult enterprise, he resolved to suspend the attack, and seek some more certain means of attaining his end.

With this view he persuaded one of his officers, named Pran, who had the reputation of being very cunning and artful, to introduce himself into the garrison as a deserter, in order to find means to deliver it up. Pran accordingly obtained admission under that character, and conducted himself with the profoundest dissimulation. He soon formed a friendship with one of the Chilians who served under the Spaniards, called Andrew, and who appeared to him a proper instrument of his designs. One day, either artfully to sound him, or to flatter him, Andrew pretended to sympathize with his friend on the misfortunes of his country. Pran, who had as yet given no intimation of his design, seized with much readiness this occasion, and discovered to him the motive of his pretended desertion, earnestly entreating him to aid in the execution of his scheme; this was to introduce some Araucanian soldiers into the place, at the time when the Spaniards, wearied with their nightly watch, had retired to take their *siesta.*[*] The crafty Chilian highly praised his project, and offered himself to keep a gate open on the day assigned for the enterprise. The Araucanian, elated with joy, hastened to give information to Caupolican, who was at a short distance, and Andrew proceeded immediately to disclose the plot to the commander of the fort, who directed him to keep up the deception by appearing to carry it on, in order to take the enemy in their own snare.

Caupolican, occupied with an ardent desire of accomplishing this enterprise, lost sight on this occasion of his wonted prudence, and too easily reposed faith in this ill-concerted scheme. In order the better to devise his measures, he expressed a wish to converse with the Chilian; Pran immediately gave notice to his supposed friend, who appeared before Caupolican with all that air of respect and flattering show of attachment which villains of this stamp know so well to assume. He broke out into invectives against the Spaniards, whom he said he had always detested, and renewed his promise, declaring that nothing could be easier than the execution of the plot. The Araucanian general applauded his patriotism, loaded him with caresses, and promised to give him, if the enterprise should succeed, an Ulmenate, with the office of first captain of his army. He then showed him his troops, appointed the next day for the execution of their scheme, and dismissed him with the the strongest demonstrations of esteem and favour. The Spaniards, informed of all, employed that night in making every preparation to obtain the greatest possible advantage from the treachery of their ally.

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[*] Afternoon sleep.

When the principal officers of the Araucanians were informed of the intention of their general, they openly disapproved of it, as dishonourable and disgraceful to the national spirit, and refused to accompany him in the expedition. Adhering, nevertheless, with obstinacy to his design, he began his march at day-break, with three thousand men for Canete, in the vicinity of which he lay concealed until the time appointed, when Pran came to inform him from Andrew that all was ready. The Araucanians then proceeded in silence to the city, and finding the passage free, began to enter it. But the Spaniards having allowed entrance to a certain number, suddenly closed the gate, and at the same moment commenced a fire with grape shot from all their cannon upon those without.

Dreadful was the slaughter made among them, and the more so as it was wholly unexpected. The horse then made a sally from another gate, and completed the destruction of those who had escaped the fire of the cannon. Caupolican had the fortune, or rather misfortune, to escape the general slaughter of his men. He retired with a few attendants to the mountains, whence he hoped soon to descend with a new army capable of maintaining the field. While the cavalry were giving a loose to their fury on those without, the infantry were employed in butchering those within the walls, who, having lost all hope of escape, rather chose to be cut in pieces than to surrender themselves. The too credulous Pran, perceiving his error, rushed amongst the foremost against his enemies, and by an honourable death escaped the well-merited reproaches of his imprudence. Among the few who were taken prisoners were three Ulmenes, who were fastened to the mouths of cannon and blown into the air.

CHAP. VII.

Expedition of Don Garcia to the Archipelago of Chiloé; Foundation of Osorno; Caupolican taken and impaled.

Don Garcia, considering the Araucanian war as terminated after this destructive battle, ordered the city of Conception to be rebuilt; and, desirous of adding to the laurels of a soldier those of a conqueror, so highly valued in that age, in 1558 marched with a numerous body of troops against the Cunches, who had not yet been opposed to the Spanish arms. This nation, when they first heard of the arrival of the strangers, met to deliberate whether they should submit, or resist their victorious forces. An Araucanian exile, called *Tunconobal,* who was present at the assembly, being desired to give his opinion upon the measures proposed, replied in the following terms:

"Be cautious how you adopt either of these measures; as vassals you will be despised and compelled to labour, as enemies you will be exterminated. If you wish to free yourselves of these dangerous visitors, make them believe you are miserably poor. Hide your property, particularly your gold; they will not remain where they have no expectation of finding that sole object of their wishes. Send them such a present as will impress them with an idea of your poverty, and in the meantime retire to the woods."

The Cunches approved the wise counsel of the Araucanian, and commissioned him, with nine natives of the country, to carry the present which he had recommended to the Spanish general. Accordingly, clothing himself and companions in wretched rags, he appeared with every mark of fear before that officer, and after complimenting him in rude terms, presented him a basket containing some roasted lizards and wild fruits. The Spaniards, who could not refrain from laughter at the appearance of the ambassadors and their presents, began to dissuade the governor from pursuing an expedition which, from all appearances, would prove unproductive. But although he was persuaded that these people were poor and wretched, yet, lest he should discover too great facility in relinquishing his plan, he exhorted his troops to prosecute the expedition that had been undertaken, assuring them that, further on, according to the information he had received, they would find a country that abounded in all the metals. This was a circumstance by no means improbable, it being very usual in America after passing frightful desarts to meet with the richest countries. He then inquired of the Cunches the best road to the south. Tunconobal directed him towards the west, which was the most rough and mountainous, and on being applied to for a guide, gave him one of his companions, whom he charged to conduct the army by the most desòlate and difficult roads of the coast. The guide pursued so strictly the instruction of the Araucanian, that the Spaniards, who in their pursuit of conquest were accustomed to surmount with ease the severest fatigues, acknowledged that they had never before, in any of their marches, encountered difficulties comparable with these. Their impatience was greatly augmented on the fourth day, when their pretended guide quitted them, and they found themselves in a desart surrounded by precipices, from whence they perceived no way to extricate themselves. All their constancy and perseverance would have been insufficient to support them, if Don Garcia had not incessantly encouraged them with the flattering hope of soon reaching the happy country which he had promised them.

Having at length overcome all obstacles, they came to the top of a high mountain, from whence they discovered the great Archipelago of Ancud, more commonly called Chiloé, whose channels were covered with a great number of boats navigated with sails and oars. This unexpected prospect filled them with joy. As they had for many days suffered from hunger, they hastened to the shore, and were highly delighted on seeing a boat make towards them, on board of which were fifteen persons handsomely clothed. Without the least apprehension they immediately leaped on shore, and saluting the Spaniards with much cordiality, inquired who they were, whither they were going, and if they were in want of any thing. The Spaniards asked them for provisions: the chief of this friendly people immediately ordered all the provisions that were in the boat to be brought, and in the most hospitable manner distributed them among them, refusing to accept any thing in return, and promised to send them a large supply from the circumjacent islands.

Indeed, scarcely had these famished adventurers encamped, when there arrived from all quarters piragues loaded with maize, fruit, and fish, which were in like manner distributed to them gratuitously. The Spaniards, constantly regaled by these islanders, coasted the Archipelago to the bay of Reloncavi, and some went over to the neighbouring islands, where they found land well cultivated, and women employed in spinning wool, mixed with the feathers of sea birds, from which they made their clothes. The celebrated poet Ercilla was one of the party, and solicitous of the reputation of having proceeded further south than any other European, he crossed the gulph, and upon the opposite shore inscribed on the bark of a tree some verses containing his name and the time of the discovery, the 31st of January, 1559.

Don Garcia, satisfied with having been the first to discover by land the Archipelago of Chiloé, returned, taking for his guide one of those islanders, who conducted him safely to Imperial through the country of the Huilliches, which is for the most part level, aud abounds in provisions. The inhabitants, who are similar in every respect to their western neighbours, the Cunchese, made no opposition to his passage. He there founded, or according to some writers, rebuilt the city of Osorno, which increased rapidly, not less from its manufactories of woollen and linen stuffs, than from the fine gold procured from its mines, which were afterwards destroyed by the Toqui Paillamacu.

During this expedition, Alonzo Reynoso, commander of Canete, after having for a long time attempted, by offers of reward and by means of torture, to obtain from the natives information of the retreat of Caupolican, at length found one less inflexible, who promised to discover the place where he had concealed himself since his last defeat. A detachment of cavalry was immediately sent under the guidance of this spy, and at day-break made prisoner of that great man, but not till after a gallant resistance from ten of his most faithful soldiers, who would not abandon him. His wife, who never ceased exhorting him to die rather than surrender, on seeing him taken, indignantly threw towards him his infant son, saying, she would retain nothing that belonged to a coward.

The detachment returned to the city amidst the rejoicings of the populace, and conducted their prisoner to Reynoso, who immediately ordered him to be impaled and dispatched with arrows. On hearing his sentence, Caupolican, without the least change of countenance, or abatement of his wonted dignity, coolly addressed Reynoso in these words: "My death, general, can answer no possible end, except that of inflaming the inveterate hatred which my countrymen already entertain against yours. They will be far from being discouraged by the loss of an unfortunate chief. From my ashes will arise many other Caupolicans, who will prove more fortunate than I have been. But if you spare my life, from the great influence I possess in the country, I may be serviceable to the interests of your sovereign, and the propagation of your religion, which, as you say, is the only object of this destructive war. But if you are determined that I shall die, send me to Spain, where, if your king thinks proper to condemn me, I may end my days without causing new disturbances in my country."

Vain were the attempts of the unfortunate general to prevail upon Reynoso, whose name is held in detestation not only by the Araucanians, but by the Spaniards themselves, who have ever reprobated his conduct, as contrary to those principles of generosity on which they pride themselves as a nation. He ordered the sentence to be immediately executed; and a priest, who had been sent for to converse with the prisoner, pretending that he had converted him, hastily administered the sacrament of baptism.

After this mock ceremony, he was conducted, amidst a crowd of people, to a scaffold that had been erected for his execution: But when he saw the instrument of punishment, which until then he did not clearly comprehend, and a negro prepared to execute him, he was so exasperated, that, with a furious kick, he hurled the executioner from the scaffold, exclaiming, "Is there no sword, and some less unworthy hand to be found to put to death a man like myself? This has nothing in it of justice—it is base revenge." He was, however, seized by numbers, and compelled to undergo the cruel and ignominious death to which he had been condemned.

CHAP. VIII.

Successes of Caupolican the Second; Siege of Imperial; Battle of Quipeo fatal to the Araucanians; Death of Caupolican; Termination of the Government of Don Garcia.

Soon were the predictions of the great Caupolican verified. Instigated by the most unbounded rage, the Araucanians immediately proceeded to elect a Toqui, capable of revenging the ignominious death of their unfortunate general. The majority of the electors were of opinion, that in the present circumstances the fierce Tucapel was better qualified than any other to sustain the important office. But this choice was by no means agreeable to the sentiments of Colocolo: he declared himself in favour of young Caupolican, the eldest son of the late general, who possessed the talents of his celebrated father. This opinion was adopted and confirmed by the Ulmenes. Tucapel, perceiving that the affections of the nation were placed upon his competitor, had a second time the magnanimity to yield his claim to the supreme command without murmuring; he only required to be elected Vice Toqui, which was granted him.

The new general immediately collected an army, and crossed the Bio-bio, resolving to attack the city of Conception, which he had been informed was defended only by a few soldiers. Reynoso, having learned his intention, followed him with five hundred men, and coming up with him at Talcaguano, a place but a short distance from that city, offered him battle. The young commander, encouraging his soldiers by his words and his example, fell with such fury upon the Spaniards, that he entirely defeated them; Reynoso, pursued and wounded by Tucapel, had the good fortune to be able to repass the Bio-bio with a few horse that had escaped the slaughter. He immediately collected more troops, and returned to attack the Araucanian camp; but meeting with no better success than before, he was compelled to abandon the enterprise.

At the close of this second action, Millalauco, who had been sent to compliment the Spaniards in Quiriquina, returned with the news that Don Garcia had quitted Imperial, with a large body of troops, and was laying waste the neighbouring provinces. On this information Caupolican, by the advice of Colocolo, deferred the siege of Conception, and hastened to give them assistance, leaving a number of men under the command of Millalauco, to oppose the attempts of Reynoso. Don Garcia, however, being informed of his march, withdrew to Imperial, after having placed two hundred horse in ambush on the road by which he was to pass. The Araucanian general, although unexpectedly attacked by them, defended himself with such presence of mind, that he not only escaped without loss, but cut in pieces a great part of his assailants, and pursued the rest to the gates of Imperial, which he girt with a close siege.

In the meantime Reynoso and Millalauco, who had several times encountered each other in skirmishes, agreed to terminate the question of superiority between them by single combat. Such duels had become very common during that war. The two champions fought a long time without either obtaining the advantage, till, wearied and fatigued, they separated by mutual consent, and returned to their former mode of warfare.

The siege of Imperial was prosecuted with much vigour. Caupolican had made several assaults upon that city, flattering himself with the aid of the Spanish auxiliaries, which, uncautioned by the misfortunes of his father, he had solicited by means of two of his officers, Tulcomaru and Torquin. These emissaries were, however, discovered and impaled in sight of the Araucanian army, to whom they recommended with their last breath to die in defence of the liberties of their country.

One hundred and twenty of the auxiliaries were also hung on the ramparts, exhorting the others to favour the enterprise of their countrymen.

The Araucanian general, desirous of signalizing himself by the capture of a place which his father had twice vainly attempted, made another assault still more violent than the preceding, in which his life was exposed to the most imminent danger. Several times in person did he scale the wall, and even effected at night an entrance into the city, followed by Tucapel and a number of brave companions; but repulsed by Don Garcia, whose vigilance was present every where, he withdrew, constantly fighting, and covered with the blood of his enemies, to a bastion, from whence, by a vigorous leap, he rejoined his troops, who were very apprehensive for the safety of their beloved commander. Wearied at length with the prosecution of a siege whose operations were too slow for his impatience, he resolved to abandon it, and employ his arms against Reynoso, in hopes to revenge the death of his father, but Don Garcia, having joined that officer, rendered all his attempts fruitless.

The campaign of the following year, 1559, was rendered still more memorable by the numerous battles that were fought between the two armies; but as these produced no material change in the state of affairs, it will not be necessary to give a particular account of them.

Notwithstanding several of these encounters were favourable to the Araucanians, Caupolican resolved to protract the war, seeing that the number of his troops was daily diminished from their being continually exposed to the fire-arms of their enemies, while, on the contrary, the Spaniards were constantly receiving recruits from Peru and from Europe. With this intention he fortified himself between the cities of Canete and Conception, in a place called Quipeo or Cuyapu, which was capable of being defended by a few men against any number of enemies unprovided with artillery.

Don Garcia, on being informed of this measure, marched thither immediately with all his troops in order to dislodge him, but observing the nature of the place, he delayed several days making a general attack, in hopes of being able to draw him from his position, that his cavalry might be enabled to act with more advantage. In the meantime frequent skirmishes took place between the parties. In one of these, the celebrated Millalauco was made prisoner, who, regardless of his situation, reproached the Spanish general so severely with his cruel manner of making war, that, inflamed with the most violent passion, he ordered him instantly to be impaled.

During the siege the traitor Andrew had the temerity to go, by order of Don Garcia, to Caupolican, and threaten him with the most dreadful punishment if he did not immediately submit to the royal authority. The Araucanian, who was extremely enraged at the sight of the betrayer of his father, ordered him to retire immediately, telling him that were it not for the character of an ambassador with which he was invested, he would put him to death with the most cruel tortures. The following day, however, that traitor being taken as a spy, was suspended by his feet from a tree and suffocated with smoke.

Don Garcia at length commenced his attack upon the Araucanian encampment, by a violent cannonade from all his artillery. Caupolican, instigated by his soldiers, who were eager to make a vigorous sally, fell with such fury upon the Spaniards, that, at the first charge, the Araucanians killed about forty, and continued slaughtering them until, by a skillful evolution, the Spanish general cut off their retreat, and surrounded them upon all sides. Caupolican, nevertheless, valiantly seconded by his intrepid band, for the space of six hours rendered the issue of the battle doubtful, till, seeing Tucapel, Colocolo, Renco, Lincoyan, Mariantu, Ongolmo, and several others of his most valiant officers slain, he attempted to retreat with the small remnant of his army, but being overtaken by a detachment of horse, slew himself to avoid the melancholy fate of his father.

Although the events that afterwards occurred had convinced Don Garcia that he had deceived himself in supposing, that the spirit of the Araucanians was entirely broken after the dreadful massacre at Canete, he however on this occasion thought he had good reason to believe the war wholly at an end. The battle of Quipeo appeared to him decisive in every point of view; the principal officers who supported the courage of the enemy had all perished on that fatal day; their nation was without chiefs and without troops, and appeared to be submissive to the will of the conquerors. Under the influence of these flattering ideas, he devoted his whole attention to repair the losses occasioned by the war; he rebuilt the fortifications that had been destroyed, particularly those of Arauco and of Angol; he restored Villarica, and re-established its inhabitants: the mines that had been abandoned he caused to be opened anew, and others to be explored; and obtained the establishment of a bishopric in the capital, whither he went himself to receive the first bishop, Fernando Barrionuevo, a monk of the Franciscan order.

Finding himself provided with a good number of veteran troops, he sent a part of them, under the command of Pedro Castillo, to complete the conquest of Cujo, which had been commenced by Francis De Aguirre. That prudent officer subjected the Guarpes, the ancient inhabitants of that province, to the Spanish government, and founded on the eastern limits of the Andes two cities, one of which he called St. Juan, and the other Mendoza, from the family name of the governor. This extensive and fertile country remained for a considerable time under the government of Chili, but has since been transferred to the viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, to which, from its natural situation, it appertains.

Whilst in this manner Don Garcia took advantage of the apparent calm that prevailed in the country, he heard of the arrival at Buenos Ayres of the person appointed his successor by the court of Spain. In consequence of this information, he immediately quitted the kingdom, confiding the government for the present to Rodrigo de Quiroga, and returned to Peru, where, as a reward for his services, he was promoted to the exalted station which his father had filled.

THE

CIVIL HISTORY

OF

CHILI.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

The Toqui Antiguenu recommences the War; His Successes against Francis Villagran, the Governor; Destruction of Canete; Sieges of Arauco and of Conception; Battle of the Bio-bio.

THE governor appointed in place of Don Garcia was his predecessor, Francis Villagran, who having gone to Europe after he had been deprived of the government, procured his reinstatement therein from the court of Spain. On his arrival at Chili, supposing from the information of Don Garcia and Quiroga that nothing more was necessary to be done with the Araucanians, and that they were in no condition to give him trouble, Villagran turned his attention to the re-acquisition of the province of Tucuman, which, after having been by him, in 1549, subjected to the government of Chili, had been since attached to the viceroyalty of Peru. Gregori Castaneda, who had the charge of this enterprise, defeated the Peruvian commander, Juan Zurita, the author of the dismemberment, and restored the country to the obedience of the captains general of Chili; it was, however, retained under their government but a short time, as they were obliged by the court of Spain, before the close of the century, to cede it again to the government of Peru.

But neither Don Garcia nor Quiroga, notwithstanding the long time they had fought in Chili, had formed a correct opinion of the temper of the people whom they pretended they had conquered. The invincible Araucanian cannot be made to submit to the bitterest reverses of fortune. His losses themselves, so far from dejecting or dismaying him, appear to inspire him with more strength and valour. This constancy, or obstinacy as some may term it, is certainly wonderful, if not heroic. The few Ulmenes who had escaped from the late defeats, more than ever determined to continue the war, assembled immediately after the rout of Quiepo in a wood, where they unanimously elected as Toqui an officer of inferior rank, called Antiguenu, who had signalized himself in the last battle. He readily accepted the command, but represented to the electors, that as almost all the youth of the country had perished, he thought it expedient for them to retire to some secure situation, until an army could be collected of sufficient strength to keep the field. This prudent advice was approved by all. Antiguenu retired with the few soldiers that he had with him to the inaccessible marshes of Lumaco, called by the Spaniards the Rochela, where he caused high scaffolds to be erected to secure his men from the extreme moisture of this gloomy retreat. The youth who were from time to time enlisted went thither to be instructed in the science of arms, and the Araucanians still considered themselves free since they had a Toqui.

As soon as Antiguenu saw himself in a situation to make himself feared, he quitted his retreat, and began to make incursions into the Spanish territory, in order to practice his troops, and subsist them at the expense of the enemy. When this unexpected information reached St. Jago, it caused great inquietude to Villagran, who, from his long experience of the daring spirit of the Araucanians, foresaw all the fatal consequences that might result from this war. But in order, if possible, to stifle the bursting flame at its commencement, he sent forward immediately his son Pedro, with as many troops as could be raised in so short a time, and soon after set out upon the march himself with a much greater force.

The first skirmishes between the armies were by no means favourable to Antiguenu, and his siege of Canete was attended with no better success. As he, however, attributed his failure to the inexperience of his men, he sought on every occasion to accustom them to the use of arms. At length, upon the hills of Millapoa, he had the satisfaction of showing them that they could conquer, by defeating a body of Spaniards commanded by Arias Pardo.

To keep up and increase the ardour which this success had excited in the minds of his soldiers, Antiguenu stationed himself upon the top of Mount Mariguenu, a place of fortunate omen for his country. Villagran, who was either too much indisposed with the gout to assume the command himself, or was averse to hazard the attack of a place that had proved so unfortunate to him, gave in charge to one of his sons to dislodge the enemy from that dangerous post. This rash and enterprising young man attacked the Araucanian entrenchments with so little precaution, that almost all his army, consisting of the flower of the Spanish troops, and a great number of auxiliaries, were cut in pieces, and he himself was killed at the entrance of the enemy's encampment.

After this signal victory, Antiguenu marched against Canete, rightly judging that in the present circumstances it would be unable to resist him; but Villagran, who was likewise convinced of the impossibility of defending it, anticipated him by withdrawing all the inhabitants, part of whom retired to Imperial, and part to Conception. On their arrival, the Araucanians, who had experienced so many disasters in the vicinity of this place, had no other trouble than that of destroying the fortifications and setting it on fire, and in a short time it was entirely consumed.

In the meantime Villagran, more the victim of grief and mental anxiety than of his disorder, died, universally regretted by the colonists, who lost in him a wise, humane, and valiant commander, to whose prudent conduct they were indebted for the preservation of their conquests. Before his death he appointed as his successor, by a special commission from the court, his eldest son Pedro, whose mental endowments were no way inferior to his father's.

The death of the governor appeared to Antiguenu to present a favourable opportunity to undertake some important enterprise. Having formed his army, which consisted of 4,000 men, into two divisions, he ordered one, under the command of his Vice Toqui Antunecul, to lay siege to Conception, in order to attract thither the attention of the Spaniards, while with the other he marched against the fort of Arauco, which was defended by a strong garrison, under the command of Lorenzo Bernal. Antunecul passed the Bio-bio, and encamped in a place called Leokethal, where he was twice attacked by the governor, but he not only made a vigorous defence, but repulsed him with loss, and followed him to the city, which he closely invested by disposing his troops in six divisions around it. The siege was continued for two months, every day of which was distinguished by some gallant assault. But finding all his attempts fruitless, as he could not prevent the frequent succours that were sent by sea to the besieged, he finally withdrew, resolving to return and prosecute the enterprise at a more favourable time.

In the meantime the defence of Arauco was maintained with the greatest vigour. As Antiguenu had observed that whenever he attacked the place, his bravest officers were pointed out to the Spaniards by their Indian auxiliaries, and made the mark of the artillery, he resolved to take a severe vengeance upon them. For this purpose he contrived by his emissaries to inform the Spanish commander that the auxiliaries were intriguing to deliver up the fort to the Araucanians. Bernal gave such credit to this false report, that in a transport of fury he immediately ordered those unfortunate men to quit the place, notwithstanding their entreaties and remonstrances. This was the sole object of the Araucanian chieftain, who immediately had them seized and put to a cruel death in sight of the Spaniards, who were extremely exasperated in finding themselves so grossly imposed on by a barbarian.

As the siege was protracted to a considerable length, Antiguenu became impatient, and wished to bring it to a conclusion, if possible, by the death of the governor; with this view he challenged him to single combat. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of his soldiers, Bernal, who deemed himself secure of the victory, accepted the challenge. The battle between these two champions was continued for two hours without either obtaining any advantage or injuring the other, till they were at length separated by their men. But what force had not been able to effect, was performed by famine. Several boats loaded with provisions had repeatedly attempted in vain to relieve the besieged; the vigilance of the besiegers opposed so insuperable an obstacle, that Bernal saw himself at length compelled to abandon the place. The Araucanians permitted the garrison to retire without molestation, and contented themselves with burning the houses and demolishing the walls.

The capture of Angol, after that of Canete and Arauco, appeared so easy to Antiguenu, that he gave it in charge to one of his subalterns. That officer meeting on the road with a body of Spaniards commanded by Zurita, defeated them, but was afterwards routed in his turn near Mulchen by Diego Carranza, whom the magistracy of that city had sent against him. Antiguenu, solicitous of maintaining the reputation of his arms, repaired thither in person with about two thousand men, in order to finish the enterprise; but before assaulting the place he encamped at the confluence of the Bio-bio and Vergosa, where he was attacked by the whole Spanish army, under the command of Bernal. The Araucanians made use with much skill of the muskets which they had taken at the defeat of Mariguenu, and sustained the assault for three hours in succession. Four hundred of the auxiliaries and a number of Spaniards had fallen, when their infantry began to give way and betake themselves to flight. Bernal, perceiving no other means of restraining them, commanded the horse to slay the fugitives. This severe order was carried into execution, and checked the confusion. The infantry being thus compelled to fight, attacked the enemy's entrenchments with such vigour, that they finally forced them and penetrated into the camp. Antiguenu valiantly opposed the assailants in person, but, forced along with a crowd of his soldiers who fled, he fell from a high bank into the river, and was drowned. His death decided the battle. Great was the slaughter of the Araucanians. Many also perished in the river, into which they had thrown themselves to escape. In this battle, which was fought in 1564, the conquerors themselves were almost all wounded, and lost many of their men, but recovered forty-one muskets, twenty-one cuirasses, and fifteen helmets, with a great number of lances and other weapons.

While these events passed on the shore of the Bio-bio, Lillemu, who had been sent by Antiguenu to lay waste the provinces of Chillan and Itata, defeated a detachment of eighty Spaniards, commanded by Pedro Balsa. In the meantime the governor, leaving Conception with one hundred and fifty soldiers, cut off a party of the Araucanians that were ravaging Chillan. Lillemu hastened to their relief, but on his arrival, finding them dispersed, he only saved the remainder of his troops by making a gallant stand in a narrow pass with several determined youth. This noble effort of patriotic courage gave time to his army to effect their escape, but it cost the lives of Lillemu and his valiant companions.

CHAP. II.

Paillataru elected Toqui; Government of Rodrigo de Quiroga; Conquest of the Archipelago of Chiloé; Description of its Inhabitants.

ANTIGUENU had for successor in the Toquiate, Paillataru, the brother or cousin of the celebrated Lautaro, but his character was of a very different stamp. Slow and extremely circumspect in his operations, he contented himself during the first years of his command in maintaining undiminished the love of liberty in the bosoms of his countrymen, and in leading them from time to time to ravage the enemy's country. During the same time a change was made of the Spanish governor: Rodrigo de Quiroga, who had been appointed to that office by the Royal Audience of Lima, began his administration by arresting his predecessor, and sending him prisoner to Peru.

Having received a reinforcement of three hundred soldiers in 1665, he entered the Araucanian territory, rebuilt the fort of Arauco and the city of Canete, constructed a new fortress at the celebrated post of Quipeo, and ravaged the neighbouring provinces. Towards the end of the following year he sent the Marshal Ruiz Gamboa with sixty men to subject the inhabitants of the Archipelago of Chiloé; that officer encountered no resistance, and founded in the principal island the city of Castro and the port of Chacao.

The islands of this Archipelago amount to eighty, and, like most other islands, have been produced by earthquakes, owing to the great number of volcanoes with which that country formerly abounded. Every part of them exhibits the most unquestionable marks of fire. Several mountains in the great island of Chiloé, which has given its name to the Archipelago, are composed of basaltic columns, which, whatever may be said to the contrary, could have been produced only by the operation of fire.

The native inhabitants, though descended from the continental Chilians, as their appearance, their manners, and their language all evince, are nevertheless of a very different character, being of a pacific or rather a timid disposition. They made no opposition, as we have already observed, to the handful of Spaniards who came there to subjugate them, although their population is said to have exceeded seventy thousand; nor have they ever attempted to shake off the yoke until the beginning of the present century, when an insurrection of no great importance was excited, which was soon quelled. The number of inhabitants at present amounts to upwards of eleven thousand; they are divided into seventy-six districts or Ulmenates, the greater part of which are subject to the Spanish commanders, and are obliged to render personal service for fifty days in the year, according to the feudal laws, which are rigidly observed in this province, notwithstanding they have been for a long time abolished throughout the rest of the kingdom.

These islanders generally possess a quickness of capacity. and very readily learn whatever is taught them. They have a genius for the mechanical arts, and excel in carpentery, cabinet-making, and turnery, from the frequent occasions which they have to exercise them, all their churches and houses being built of wood. They are very good manufacturers of linen and woollen, with which they mix the feathers of sea-birds, and form beautiful coverings for their beds. They make also ponchos, or cloaks of various kinds, striped or embroidered with silk or thread. From their swine, which are very numerous, they make excellent hams, the most esteemed of any in South America.

Notwithstanding the great quantity of timber annually taken from them, these islands are covered with thick woods; and as it rains there almost incessantly, the cultivated grounds continue wet the whole year. From hence it follows that the inhabitants, although they have cattle, make no use of them for ploughing, but till the earth in a very singular manner. About three months before sowing-time they turn their sheep upon their lands, changing their situation every three or four nights. When the field is sufficiently manured in this manner they strew the grain over it. One of their strongest men then attempts to harrow it by means of a machine formed of two large sticks of hard wood made sharp and fastened together, which he forces into the ground with his breast, and thus covers the seed. Notwithstanding this imperfect tillage, a crop of wheat will yield them ten or twelve for one. They also raise great quantities of barley, beans, peas, *quinoa,* and potatoes, which are the largest and best of any in Chili. From the excessive moisture of the atmosphere, the grape never acquires sufficient maturity to be made into wine, but its want is supplied by various kinds of cider, obtained from apples and other wild fruits of the country.

The necessity that they are under of often going from one island to another, where the sea is far from deserving the name of the Pacific, renders the Chilotes excellent sailors. Their piragues are composed of three or five large planks sewed together, and caulked with a species of moss that grows on a shrub. These are in great numbers throughout the whole of the Archipelago, and are managed with sails and oars, and in these frail skiffs the natives will frequently venture as far as Conception.*

These people are fond of fishing, an occupation to which they are led from the great variety of fish with which their coasts abound. Large quantities of these are dried and sent to foreign countries. They likewise dry the testaceous kinds, particularly the conchs, the clamps, and the piures. For this purpose they arrange them in a long trench, covering them with the large leaves of the panke tinctoria. Over these they place stones, on which they make a hot fire for several hours. They then take the roasted animals from their shells, and string them upon threads, which they hang for some time in the smoke. In this mode they keep very well, and are carried to Cujo and other places at a distance from the sea.

As soon as the Christian religion was preached in Chiloé, it was readily embraced by the natives, who have ever since continued faithful and obedient to its precepts. Their spiritual concerns are under the direction of the bishop of Conception, and their temporal are administered by a governor appointed by the captain-general of

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* It will not be improper to observe here, that the Indians, who form the principal part of the sailors of the South Seas, are very active, docile, and industrious, and excellent seamen for these mild and temperate climates.—*Spanish Trans.*

Chili.* The Spaniards at present established in this Archipelago amount to about fifteen thousand, and its commerce is conducted by means of three or four ships which trade there annually from Peru and Chili. To these they sell large quantities of red cedar boards, timber of different kinds suitable for carriages, upwards of two thousand ponchos of various qualities, hams, pilchards, dried shell-fish, white cedar boxes, cloaks, enbroidered girdles, and a small quantity of ambergris which is found upon the shores; and receive in exchange, wine, brandy, tobacco, sugar, herb of Paraguay, salt, and several kinds of European † goods.

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* The temporal government of these islands at the present time (1792) is vested in the viceroyalty of Lima.—*Spanish Trans.*

† For a farther account of the Archipelago of Chiloé, see the Appendix.—*E. E.*

CHAP. III.

Establishment of the Court of Royal Audience; Government of Don Melchor Bravo de Saravia; Military operation of Paillataru, and of his successor Payncnancu; Suppression of the Court of Audience; Second Government of Quiroga; Foundation of Chillan; Some Account of the Pehuenches.

The continuation of the war, and the great importance of the conquest, finally induced Philip II. to erect a court of Royal Audience in Chili, independent of that of Peru. To this he confided not only the political, but even the military administration of that kingdom. This supreme tribunal, which was composed of four judges of law, and a fiscal, on the 13th of August, 1567, made its solemn entry into Conception, where it fixed its residence. Immediately on assuming its functions, it removed Quiroga from the government, and gave the command of the army with the title of general to Ruiz Gamboa.

This commander, having learned that Paillataru was preparing to besiege the city of Canete, hastened thither immediately, and finding him in possession of a post not far from that place, attacked and defeated him after a long and obstinate contest. This defeat enabled the victors to overrun and lay waste the country, without opposition, for the space of a year, from whence they took a great number of women and children, whom they made slaves. In the meantime the Spanish general attempted repeatedly, to no purpose, to persuade the Araucanians to commence negociations for peace. Preferring all possible evils to the loss of liberty, they constantly refused to lend an ear to his proposals.

As peace, so necessary to the welfare of the colony, appeared to be daily more remote, notwithstanding no means were spared to obtain it, the military government of the Royal Audience was thought inadequate to the purpose of its establishment; and it was deemed more expedient to place it, as before, in the hands of a single chief, distinguished by the new titles of president, governor, and captain-general of Chili, from his being president of the Royal Audience, the head of the civil department, and commander of the armies. Don Melchor de Bravo was, in 1568, invested with this triple character; a man well qualified to fill the two first offices, but utterly incompetent to sustain the latter.

He was nevertheless very desirous of engaging the enemy, and signalizing the commencement of his government by a splendid victory. Having learned that Paillataru, who had collected a new army, had occupied the fatal height of Mariguenu, which the Spaniards, for what reason I know not, had never thought of fortifying, he immediately marched against him at the head of three hundred European soldiers, and a large number of auxiliaries. Paillataru, like several of his predecessors, had the glory of rendering this mountain famous by the total defeat of the Spanish army. The president, who very fortunately escaped being made prisoner, withdrew precipitately with the small remnant of his troops to the city of Angol. Greatly intimidated by his defeat, he there resigned the command of the army to Gamboa, the marshal, and to the quarter-master Velasco, whom he ordered immediately to evacuate the so often destroyed and rebuilt fortress of Arauco. These officers, while conducting the inhabitants of that place to Canete, fell in with a division of the enemy, which they attacked and defeated. Nevertheless, Paillataru, having taken the post of Quipeo, marched two days after against that city with a determination to blockade it, when the marshal came out to meet him with all the troops that he could raise. The battle was continued for more than two hours, and was one of the bloodiest ever fought in Chili. The Spaniards, though severely handled, remained masters of the field; but Paillataru, having in a short time repaired his losses, returned to oppose the marshal, who had entered the Araucanian territory to ravage it, and compelled him to retreat with loss.

After this success, the two belligerent nations observed, till the death of Paillataru, a period of about four years, a truce or suspension of arms. This was probably in a great measure owing to the general consternation caused by a dreadful earthquake, which was felt throughout the country, and did great injury to the Spanish settlements, particularly the city of Conception, which was entirely destroyed. The Spaniards, ever attentive to consolidate and give importance to their conquests, erected, in 1570, another bishopric in the city of Imperial, to which they assigned as a diocese the vast extent of country lying between the river Maúle and the southern confines of Chili.

About this time the Mustees, or descendants of the Spaniards and Indians, having multiplied greatly, the Araucanians, perceiving the advantages which they might derive from their assistance, resolved to attach them to their cause, by letting them see that they considered them as their countrymen. With this view, on the death of Paillataru in 1574, they conferred the office of Toqui on one of these men, called Alonzo Diaz, who had taken the Chilian name of Paynenancu, and had for ten years fought in their armies, where he had distinguished himself by his valour and abilities. If his predecessor had the fault of being too cautious, the new Toqui, on the contrary, to avoid that imputation, was so rash and daring that he almost always attacked the Spaniards with troops inferior in number, whence all his enterprises had that result which might naturally have been expected.

As soon as he was invested with the command he crossed the Bio-bio, probably with an intention of attacking Conception; but before he reached it he was attacked and defeated in his entrenchments by the quarter-master Bernal, notwithstanding the great valour with which he defended himself for a long time. Among the prisoners taken upon this occasion were several women who were found in arms, the greater part of whom killed themselves the same night. Paynenancu, having escaped from the carnage, marched against Villarica, but was again defeated by Rodrigo Bastidas, the commandant of that city.

Whilst the war was thus enkindled anew, the licentiate Calderon arrived at Chili, in 1575, with a commission from the court of Spain as examiner. His first step was to suppress the tribunal of audience, on the sole principle of economy. The auditors themselves were ordered back to Peru, and instead of the president Sarabia, Rodrigo Quiroga, who but a few years before had been appointed governor by the Audience of Lima, was again reinstated in that office by order of Philip II.

That experienced officer, having assembled all the troops that he could raise in the present circumstances, proceeded in 1576 to the frontiers to oppose the progress of Paynenancu, who, notwithstanding he had been twice defeated, continued constantly to harass the Spanish settlements; but not being able to meet him, he contented himself with ravaging the country.

In the meantime, having received a reinforcement of two thousand men from Spain, he gave directions to his father-in-law, Ruiz Gamboa, to found a new colony at the foot of the Cordilleras, between the cities of Santiago and Conception, which has since received the appellation of Chillan, from the river on whose shore it stands, and has become the capital of the fertile province of that name. Shortly after the establishment of this settlement, in 1580, the governor died at a very advanced age, having nominated Gamboa as his successor. The three years of Gamboa's government were occupied on one side in opposing the attempts of Paynenancu, and on the other in repelling the Pehuenches and Chiquillanians, who, instigated by the Araucanians, had begun to molest the Spanish settlements.

The Pehuenches form a numerous tribe, and inhabit that part of the Chilian Andes lying between the 34th and 37th degrees of south latitude, to the east of the Spanish provinces of Calchagua, Maúle, Chillan, and Huilquilemu. Their dress is no way different from that of the Araucanians, except that instead of drawers or breeches, they wear around the waist a piece of cloth like the Japanese, which falls down to the knees. Their boots, or shoes, are all of one piece, and made from the skin of the hind leg of an ox taken off at the knee; this they fit to the foot while green, turning the hair within, and sewing up one of the ends, the skin of the knee serving for the heel. These shoes, by being worn and often rubbed with tallow, become as soft and pliable as the best dressed leather.

Although these mountaineers have occasionally shown themselves to be valiant and hardy soldiers, they are nevertheless fond of adorning and decorating themselves like women. They wear ear-rings and bracelets of glass beads upon their arms; they also ornament their hair with the same, and suspend little bells around their heads. Notwithstanding they have numerous herds of cattle and sheep, their usual food is horse-flesh, which, like the Tartars, they prefer to any other, but more delicate than that people, they eat it only when boiled or roasted.

They dwell in the manner of the Bedouin Arabs, in tents máde of skins, disposed in a circular form, leaving in the centre a spacious field, where their cattle feed during the continuance of the herbage. When that begins to fail they transport their habitations to another situation, and in this manner, continually changing place, they traverse the valleys of the Cordilleras. This wandering life is not, however, without its pleasures: by this means they acquire new acquaintances, new accommodations, and new prospects.

Each village or encampment is governed by an Ulmen, or hereditary prince. In their language and religion they differ not from the Araucanians. They are fond of hunting, and often, in pursuit of game, traverse the immense plains that lie between the great river of Plata and the straits of Magellan. These excursions they sometimes extend as far as Buenos Ayres, and plunder the country in the vicinity. They frequently attack the caravans of merchandize going from thence to Chili, and so successful have they been in their enterprises, that at present, owing to that cause, the commerce in that quarter is said to be almost entirely stopped.*

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* It may be here proper to relate what I myself noticed on my passage through these districts. On the 27th of April, 1783, I left Mendoza with post-horses for Buenos Ayres. We soon learned from some people whom we met, that the Pehuenches were out on their excursions; and we soon after received the melancholy information of the massacres they had committed in the *Portion of Magdalena.* In consequence of this there was not a post-house where we stopped but was in a

They have, nevertheless, for many years, abstained from committing hostilities within the Chilian boundaries in time of peace, induced either by the advantages which they derive from the trade with the inhabitants, or from the fear of being roughly handled by them. Their favourite weapon is the *laque,* already described, which they always carry with them fastened to their girdles. It is very probale that the ten Americans conducted by the valiant Orellana, of whose amazing courage mention is made in Lord Anson's Voyage, were of this tribe.

Notwithstanding their wandering and restless

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state of alarm, and we came to some that were absolutely deserted through fear. The year before about three hundred Indians, lying back upon their horses, trailing their lances behind them, in order to have it supposed that it was one of those droves of mares so common in those Pampas, appeared all at once before the post of Gutierrez; but, supposing it strongly guarded, were deterred from attacking it, although they saw but one man, who patroled the wall with his musket, and was indeed the only person in it. This man knew well that the horses were guided, by the order and course they pursued, although he could see nothing of their riders till they had come very near. He had the prudence, however, not to fire at them, which probably led them to believe there was a greater force within the place, and induced them to abandon the enterprise and vent their fury upon the unfortunate inhabitants of those plains. The commander of the post of Amatrain was not so fortunate; he was killed the same year with a negro who attended him. These posts are fortified with palisades, or with a mud wall, and have a ditch and a draw-bridge.

disposition, these people are the most industrious and commercial of any of the savages. When in their tents they are never idle. The women weave cloths of various colours; the men occupy themselves in making baskets and a variety of beautiful articles of wood, feathers, or skins, which are highly prized by their neighbours. They assemble every year on the Spanish frontier, where they hold a kind of fair that ususally continues for fifteen or twenty days. Hither they bring fossil salt, gypsum, pitch, bed-coverings, ponchos, skins, wool, bridle-reins beautifully wrought of plaited leather, baskets, wooden vessels, feathers, ostrich eggs, horses, cattle, and a variety of other articles; and receive in exchange, wheat, wine, and the manufactures of Europe. They are very skillful in traffic, and can with difficulty be overreached. For fear of being plundered by those who believe that any thing is lawful against infidels, they never all drink at the same time, but separate themselves into several companies, and while some keep guard the others indulge themselves in the pleasures of wine. They are generally humane, complacent, lovers of justice, and possess all those good qualities that are produced or perfected by commerce.

The Chiquillanians, whom some have erroneously supposed to be a part of the Pehuenches, live to the north-east of them, on the eastern borders of the Andes. These are the most savage, and, of course, the least numerous of any of the Chilians, for it is an established fact that the ruder the state of savage life, the more unfavourable is it to population. They go almost naked, merely wrapping around them the skin of the guanco.* It is observable that all the Chilians who inhabit the eastern valleys of the Andes, both the Pehuenches, the Puelches, and the Huilliches, as well as the Chiquillanians, are much redder than those of their countrymen who dwell to the westward of that mountain. All these mountaineers dress themselves in skins, paint their faces, live in general by hunting, and lead a wandering and unsettled life. They are no other, as I have hitherto observed, than the so much celebrated Patagonians, who have occasionally been seen near the straits of Magellan, and have been at one time described as giants, and at another as men a little above the common stature. It is true, however, that they are, generally speaking, of a lofty stature and great strength.

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* The anonymous account of Chili published at Bologna, in speaking of this nation, observes, that their language is guttural, and a very corrupt jargon of the Chilian.

CHAP. IV.

Government of the Marquis de Villar-hermosa; His Successes against Paynenancu; Capture and Death of that General; Enterprises of the Toqui Cayancura and his Son Nangoniel; Landing of the English in Chili; Operations of the Toqui Cadeguala.

As soon as information was received in Spain of the death of Quiroga, the king sent out as governor to Chili, Don Alonzo Sotomayor, with six hundred regular troops, who, in 1583, landed at Buenos Ayres, and from thence proceeded to Santiago. He immediately sent his brother Don Louis, whom he appointed to the new office of colonel of the kingdom, to succour the cities of Villarica and Valdivia, which were besieged by the Araucanians. That officer raised the sieges of those places after having twice defeated Paynenancu, who attempted to oppose his march. Notwithstanding these reverses the enterprising Toqui turned his arms against Tiburcio Heredia, and afterwards against Antonio Galleguillos, who were ravaging the country with a large body of cavalry; by these he was likewise defeated, but the victors paid dearly for their victory.

In the meantime the governor, having driven off the Pehuenches who infested the new settlement of Chillan, entered the Araucanian territory with seven hundred Spaniards, and a great number of auxiliaries, resolved to pursue the rigorous system of making war which had been adopted by Don Garcia, in preference to the mild and humane policy of his immediate predecessors. The province of Encol was the first that experienced the effects of his severity. He laid it entirely waste with fire and sword. Those who were taken prisoners were either hung or sent away with their hands cut off, in order to intimidate their countrymen. The provinces of Puren, Ilicura, and Tucapel, would have shared the same fate, if the inhabitants had not secured themselves by flight before the arrival of the enemy, after setting on fire their houses and their crops. In the last province they took only three of the inhabitants prisoners, who were impaled. Notwithstanding these severities, a number of mustees and mulattoes joined the Araucanians, and even some Spâniards, among whom was Juan Sanchez, who acquired great reputation.

The Araucanian general, impelled either by his natural audacity, or by despair, on finding himself fallen in the estimation of the native inhabitants, opposed on the confines of the province of Arauco the whole Spanish army with only eight hundred men. They nevertheless fought with such resolution that the Spaniards were not able to break them till after an obstinate contest of several hours, in which they lost a considerable number of men. Almost all the Araucanians were slain, Paynenancu himself was taken prisoner, and immediately executed. The victorious governor then rebuilt the fortress of Arauco, appointing the quarter-master Garcia Ramon to command it, and encamped on the shore of the river Carampangui.

The Araucanian valour, which had been depressed by the imprudent conduct of the mustee general, was excited anew by the elevation to that dignity, in 1585, of Cayancaru, one of their own countrymen, an Ulmen of the district of Mariguenu. One hundred and fifty messengers, furnished with symbolical arrows, were immediately dispatched to various quarters in search of aid. Every thing was put in motion, and in a short time a respectable army was assembled. The new Toqui determined to attack at midnight the Spanish camp, which still occupied the post of Karampangui, of whose exact situation he was informed by means of a spy. For this purpose he formed his army into three divsions, and gave the command of them to three valiant officers, Lonconobal, Antulevu, and Tarochina.

These divisions proceeded by three roads that led to the camp, and cut in pieces the auxiliaries, who were the first to oppose their progress. Fortunately for the Spaniards, the moon, rising at the moment of the assault, enabled them, after a short period of confusion, in which they lost several of their men, to form themselves and make head against their assailants, who, galled upon all sides by the musketry, began at length to give way. The governor at the same time, charging them with his band of veterans, succeeded in repulsing them, though not without great loss on both sides.

Cayancura, who had halted at the entrance of the Spanish camp, in order to support the attack, finding his troops retiring exhausted and fatigued, permitted them to rest the remainder of the night, and at day-break returned to the attack. The Spaniards came out to meet them in the open field, and most obstinate and bloody was the battle that ensued. But, overpowered by the horse and artillery, the Araucanians were finally compelled to quit the field. The authors whom I have consulted satisfy themselves with observing that the victory cost the Spaniards dear, without specifying the number of the slain. The governor himself calls it a bloody one in his patent to Nugno Hernandez. The greatest proof of his loss is, that immediately after the action he raised his camp, and retired to the frontiers, where he built two forts, that of Trinidad upon the southern, and Spirito Santo upon the northern shore of the Bio-bio. He also sent orders to the serjeant-major to raise as many recruits as possible throughout the kingdom, who, in consequence, brought him two thousand horse, and a considerable number of infantry.

Notwithstanding his losses, the Araucanian general resolved to take advantage of the retreat of the governor to attack the fort of Arauco. In order to render more secure the success of the enterprise, he endeavoured to divert the Spanish forces in every quarter. For this purpose he ordered Guepotan to make incursions in the territory of Villarica from the fort of Liben, where he had supported himself for several years. To Cadiguala, who was afterwards invested with the supreme command, he gave charge to harass the inhabitants of Angol; and appointed Tarochina to guard the shores of the Bio-bio; while Melilanca and Catipillan were sent against Imperial. These officers had several encounters with the Spaniards, attended with various success. Guepotan lost the fort of Liben, which was taken by the brother of the governor, while Tarochina made himself master of a great number of boats on the Bio-bio, that were conducting supplies of men and warlike stores to the forts newly erected upon that river.

In 1586 Cayancura began his intended siege, by surrounding the place with strong lines, so as not only to intercept all succours, but also to prevent the retreat of the garrison. From these preparations the besieged perceiving that they must finally be compelled to surrender or perish with hunger, thought it better to die with arms in their hands than to be reduced to this extremity; they therefore attacked the enemy's works with such vigour, that after a dreadful combat of about four hours, they forced them, and put the Araucanians to flight. Cayancura, extremely mortified at the ill-success of his enterprise, retired to his Ulmenate, leaving the command of the army to his son Nangoniel, a youth of great hopes, and much beloved by the nation.

The young commander immediately collected some companies of infantry, and a hundred and fifty horse, which from henceforward began to form a part of the Araucanian force, and returned to invest the same fortress, whose environs he so closely guarded, that the Spaniards, unable to procure a supply of provisions, were at length compelled to evacuate it. Encouraged by this good fortune, he proceeded against the fort of Trinidad which protected the passage of the enemy's supplies by the Bio-bio; but having fallen in on the road with a division of Spanish troops, under the command of Francisco Hernandez, he lost an arm in the contest, after having received several other dangerous wounds. This misfortune obliged him to retire to a neighbouring mountain, where he was drawn into an ambush by the serjeant-major, and slain with fifty of his soldiers, notwithstanding the great valour with which they defended themselves for a long time. The same day Cadeguala, who had obtained great reputation in the army for his courage and military skill, was proclaimed Toqui by his officers.

Whilst the Araucanians endeavoured to oppose the progress of the Spaniards in their country, the English also planned an expedition against them in that remote quarter. On the 21st of July, 1586, Sir Thomas Cavendish sailed with three ships from Plymouth, and in the following year arrived on the coast of Chili. He landed in the desert port of Quintero, and endeavoured to enter into a negociation with the natives of the country. But his stay there was but of short continuance; he was attacked by Alonzo Molina, the Corregidor of Santiago, and compelled to quit the coast with the loss of several of his soldiers and seamen.

In the meantime Cadeguala, who had signalized the beginning of his command by several bold incursions, resolved to avail himself of this timely diversion to surprise the city of Angol, with some of whose inhabitants he maintained a a secret intelligence. By means of these agents he prevailed upon those Chilians who were in the service of the Spaniards to set fire to the houses of their masters at a certain hour of the night, when he would be ready with his army at the gates. The plan being accordingly executed, he entered the city amidst the confusion, occupied the several quarters of it with a thousand foot and a hundred horse, and began to make a dreadful slaughter of the citizens, who, in flying from the flames, fell into his hands. The garrison in vain attempted to oppose his progress; nor would any have escaped the sword on that fatal night, had not by good fortune the governor accidentally arrived there two hours before the attack. He immediately hastened at the head of his guard to the different places that were attacked, and with wonderful presence of mind collected the dispersed inhabitants, and conducted them to the citadel. From thence he sallied out with the most determined of them, and attacked the enemy, whom he obliged to retire at day-break. The Araucanians had become much less scrupulous than formerly in their mode of making war, for Cadeguala was not abandoned by any of his officers on this occasion, as Caupolican had been at Canete in his fraudful surprise of that city.

Although this daring enterprise had not been accompanied with the success which the Araucanian general expected, yet, far from being discouraged by it, he undertook the siege of the fortress of Puren, which from its interior situation appeared more easy to be taken. He invested it regularly with four thousand men in four divisions, under the command of Guanalcoa, Caniotaru, Relmuantu, and Curilemu, the most valiant officers of his army. The governor, on receiving information of the danger of the place, hastened to relieve it with a strong reinforcement, but Cadeguala advanced to meet him with a hundred and fifty lances, and opposed him with such vigour, that after a long combat, in which several were killed, he compelled him to retreat.

Elated with this success, he proposed to the besieged, either to allow them to retire upon parole, or enter his service. These terms, which he pretended to consider as advantageous, were rejected with disdain. One person alone, called Juan Tapia, availed himself of the proffer, and went over to the Araucanians, by whom he was well received, and advanced in their army. This plan proving abortive, Cadeguala determined to shorten the siege by a decisive blow. He presented himself before the walls on a superb horse which he had taken from the governor, and defied the commander of the place, Garcia Ramon, to single combat at the end of three days. The challenge being accepted, the intrepid Toqui appeared at the time appointed in the field, with a small number of attendants, whom he placed apart. The Spanish commander came out to meet him with forty men, whom he likewise ordered to remain at a distance. The two champions then putting spurs to their horses, encountered with such fury, that the first stroke decided the battle, Cadeguala falling to the ground, pierced through and through by the lance of his adversary; notwithstanding which, refusing to acknowledge himself vanquished, he endeavoured to remount his horse, but life failed him in the attempt. His soldiers ran to raise him, and carried off the body, after a sharp contest with the Spaniards. The army then retired from the place, determined to return when they had elected a new chief.

CHAP. V.

The Toqui Guanoalca takes the Forts of Puren, Trinidad, and Spirito Santo; Exploits of the Heroine Janequeo; Battles of Mariguenu and Tucapel.

The Araucanians soon returned to besiege the fort of Puren under their new Toqui Guanoalca, who, being informed by Tapia that the garrison was but ill supplied with provisions, and divided into two parties, had formed the most sanguine expectations of taking it. The result proved that he calculated correctly; as the besieged, cut off from all external succour, and dissatisfied with the conduct of their officers, were not long in retiring to the city of Angol; the Araucanians, with their usual policy, leaving the passage free, nor endeavouring to molest them in their retreat.

Guanoalca immediately after marched against another fort which the Spaniards had a little before constructed in the vicinity of Mount Mariguenu; but a considerable reinforcement having entered it shortly before, he resolved to employ his forces in another quarter where the prospect of success appeared more flattering. With this view he proceeded against the forts of Trinidad and Spirito Santo, upon the shores of the Bio-bio. The governor, apprehensive that he should not be able to defend them, or not considering them as of sufficient importance, evacuated them in 1589, and transferred the garrisons to another fortress, which he had directed to be built upon the river Puchanqui, in order to protect the city of Angol: So that the war now became in a great measure reduced to the construction and demolition of fortifications.

The dictatorship of Guanoalca was rendered more remarkable by the military exploits of the heroine Janequeo than by his own. This woman was the wife of that valiant officer Guepotan, who for so long a time defended the post of Liben. After the loss of that important place he retired to the Andes, where he constantly endeavoured to stimulate those mountaineers to the defence of the country. Desirous of having his wife with him, he at length descended into the plains in search of her, but was surprised by the Spaniards, who were very solicitous to get him into their hands, and preferred being cut in pieces to surrendering himself prisoner. Janequeo, inflamed with an ardent desire of avenging the death of her husband, in company with her brother Gucchiuntereo, placed herself at the head of an army of Puelches, with which, in 1590, she began to make inroads upon the Spanish settlements, killing all of that nation that fell into her hands. The governor, reinforced by a regiment of soldiers, which he had received from Peru, set out upon his march against her; but she, constantly occupying the highest ground, and attacking unexpectedly sometimes the van, and at others the rear of his army, obliged him to retire, after having lost, to no purpose, much time and a considerable number of men. As he was of opinion that rigorous measures were the best suited to quell the pride of the Araucanians, he gave orders, before his retreat, that all the prisoners taken in this incursion should be hung: Among these was one who requested to be hung upon the highest tree, in order that the sacrifice which he made of himself to his country should be more conspicuous to his countrymen, and inspire them with a stronger determination to defend their liberties.

Janequeo having defended herself thus successfully against a general, who was unquestionably a good soldier, and had gained a high reputation in the wars of Italy, Germany, and Flanders, proceeded against the fortress of Puchanqui, not far from which she defeated and killed Aranda, the commander, who had advanced to meet her with a part of the garrison. But not having been able to take the fort, she retired at the commencement of the rainy season to the mountains of Villarica, where she fortified herself in a place surrounded by precipices, which she deemed perfectly secure; from whence she daily infested the environs of that city in such a manner, that no one ventured to leave it.

The governor, moved by the complaints of the citizens, sent his brother Don Louis to their aid, with the greater part of two reinforcements that he had lately received from Peru, under the command of Castillejo and Penalosa. The intrepid Janequeo awaited him valiantly in her retreat, repelling with great presence of mind the various assaults of the Spaniards; until her soldiers being dispersed by the artillery, she saw herself obliged to provide for her safety by flight. Her brother was taken in attempting to escape, and obtained his life from the victors on condition of promising on oath to keep his sister quiet, and securing to them the friendship of his vassals and adherents; but while this proposal was debated in a national council, he was killed by the Ulmen Catipiuque, who abhorred any kind of reconciliation.

The old Toqui Guanoalca died at the close of this year, and in 1591, Quintuguenu, an enterprising young man, and ambitious of glory, was appointed his successor. Having taken by assault the fort of Mariguenu, he encamped with two thousand men upon the top of that mountain, hoping, by some important victory, to render himself as celebrated there as Lautaro. The governor, undaunted by the recollection of the misfortunes which had befallen his countrymen in that ill-omened place, put himself at the head of one thousand Spaniards and a large number of auxiliaries, and immediately marched thither, resolving to dislodge the enemy, or at least to keep them besieged.

After having given the necessary orders, he began at day-break to defile the difficult ascent of the mountain, leading the advanced guard in person, in front of which he had placed twenty half-pay officers, well experienced in this kind of war. Scarcely had he ascended half way, when he was attacked with such fury by Quintuguenu, that a general of less talents would have been driven headlong down with all his troops; but, animating his men by his voice and example, he sustained for more than an hour the terrible encounter of the enemy, till having gained step by step the level ground, he succeeded in forcing them into their entrenchments, without however being able to break their order.

The Araucanians, mutually exhorting each other to die with glory, defended their camp with incredible valour until mid-day, when Don Carlos Irrazabal, after an obstinate resistance, finally forced the lines on the left with his company. At the same time the quarter-master and Don Rodolphus Lisperger, a valiant German officer, penetrated with their brigades in front and on the right. Quintuguenu, although surrounded on every side, rendered for a long time the event of the battle doubtful. He maintained his troops in good order, and conjured them not to dishonour by an ignominious defeat a place that had so often witnessed the victories of their ancestors. Whilst he flew from rank to rank animating his men, and constantly confronting the enemy, he fell, pierced with three mortal wounds by the governor, who had singled him out and taken aim at him. The last word he uttered was an enthusiastic exclamation of liberty.

On seeing him dead, a part of his soldiers in despair suffered themselves to be cut in pieces, and the rest betook themselves to flight. Almost all the auxiliaries were slain, but of the Spaniards it is said that only twenty fell in the battle; of which number was a Portuguese knight of the order of Christ, who was slain in the beginning of the conflict.

The governor, highly gratified with being the first conqueror of the Araucanians on the formidable Mariguenu, conducted his army to the sea shore, where he was saluted with repeated discharges of cannon from the Peruvian fleet, which, in scouring the coast in search of the English, had witnessed the victory. These demonstrations of general joy were answered on the part of the army by frequent volleys of musketry, and the customary military rejoicings. Availing himself of this opportunity, the governor sent the quarter-master to Peru, on the return of the fleet, in order to obtain the greatest possible reinforcement of troops to prosecute the war the ensuing campaign.

In the meantime he abandoned the ancient situation of the fortress of Arauco, and rebuilt it in another more convenient upon the sea shore, where, in case of need, it could be more readily succoured. Colocolo was lord of this district; he was son to the celebrated Ulmen of that name, but of a disposition very different from that of his father. Indignant on seeing his lands occupied by the enemy, he endeavoured to drive them off, but being defeated and made prisoner, he solicited and obtained his life, on condition of persuading his subjects, who had retired to the mountains, to submit to the Spanish government. These, on being urged by his wife Millayene to fulfil the promise of their chief, replied, that as his present misfortunes had been caused by love of his country, so ought he to endure them with a firmness worthy of his birth; that, stimulated by his example, they would confront all dangers to defend him, and to revenge the outrages which he might suffer. The prince, irritated by this reply, devoted himself to the service of the Spaniards, and served them as a guide in the pursuit of his people.

At this period, 1592, there was among the Araucanians a Spaniard who had been made prisoner in one of the former battles, and who by his ingratiating manners had obtained the esteem and confidence of the principal men of the nation. This man, either from gratitude for the treatment he had received, or at the instigation of the governor, applied himself to effect a treaty of peace with great hopes of success; but the preliminary conditions proposed by him not proving agreeable to either of the parties, all his endeavours were ineffectual. The governor, irritated at the ill success of his proposals, set out on his march with all his army for the province of Tucapel, laying waste with fire and sword all that fell in his way.

Paillaeco, who had been elected Toqui in place of Quintuguenu, thinking himself not sufficiently strong to oppose the enemy openly, resolved to draw them into an ambuscade. For this purpose he placed a hundred men on horseback at the entrance of a wood, within which he had concealed the remainder of his forces, with orders for them to counterfeit flight on the appearance of the enemy. This scheme at first promised success; the Spaniards pursued them, but discovering in time that it was only a stratagem, they turned back and pretended to fly themselves, in order to induce their enemies to quit the wood and attack them in the open field.

The Araucanians, not aware of the trick, ran into the snare, and being surrounded on every side, were almost all cut in pieces, together with their commander, after having sold their lives very dearly. The remainder took refuge in the marshes, where they secured themselves from the fury of the victors.

These repeated victories, the cause of such exultation to the Spaniards, were but the preludes of the severest disasters that they had ever experienced in Chili. It will, nevertheless, scarcely admit of a doubt that they must have cost much blood, since the governor, contrary to his custom, withdrew to Santiago after the last action, with the intention of awaiting there the reinforcements which he expected from Peru, and to raise as many recruits as possible in the northern provinces of the country. The reinforcements were not long in arriving, but as they appeared to him insufficient to continue the war with advantage, he determined to go to Peru in person to solicit more considerable succours, committing in the meantime the command of the army to the quarter-master, and the civil government to the licentiate Pedro Viscarra. On his arrival at Lima he met with his successor in the government, who had been appointed by the court of Spain. This was Don Martin Loyola, nephew of St. Ignatius,* an officer of merit, who had acquired the favour of the viceroy Toledo, by taking Tupac Amaru, the last Inca of Peru, in the mountains of the Andes. This service not only obtained for him the government of Chili, but also the princess Clara Beatrix Coya in marriage, the only daughter and heiress of the Inca Sayri Tupac. He arrived at Valparaiso in 1593, with a respectable body of troops, and immediately proceeded to Santiago, where he was received with every testimony of joy by the citizens.

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* The celebrated founder of the order of the Jesuits.

CHAP. VI.

The Toqui Paillamachu kills Loyola the Governor, and destroys all the Spanish Settlements in Araucania.

After the death of Paillaeco, the Araucanians appointed to the chief command the hereditary Toqui of the second Uthalmapu, called Paillamachu, a man of a very advanced age, but of wonderful activity. Fortune, commonly supposed not to be propitious to the old, so far favoured his enterprises, that he surpassed all his predecessors in military glory, and had the singular felicity of restoring his country to its ancient state of independence. No sooner was he invested with the supreme power, than he appointed Pelantaru and Millacalquin, two officers not inferior to himself in merit, to the important charge of Vice Toqui, deviating in this instance from the established custom, which allowed only one lieutenant to the general. As the Araucanian force was, however, greatly diminished, he imitated the example of Antiguenu, and withdrew to the marshes of Lumaco, where he applied himself to form an army capable of executing his extensive plans.

Loyola, after having regulated the police of the capital, proceeded to Conception in order to attend to the business of the war. Paillamachu took advantage of this opportunity to send an officer, under pretence of complimenting him, to obtain information of his character and designs. Antipillan, who was charged with this commission, showed himself worthy of the trust reposed in him by the general. In the frequent conferences which the governor held with him, he endeavoured to impress him with an idea of the great power and immense resources of his sovereign, insinuating the necessity of the Araucanians coming to an accommodation. The ambassador, pretending to be convinced by his reasonings, replied: "We are not ignorant of the power of your prince, which extends from the east to the west. But we are not to be despised, for although we are but a small people, we have nevertheless hitherto resisted his immense power. Your ideas respecting peace are very different from ours. By peace we understand an entire cessation of hostilities, which is to be followed by a complete renunciation on your part of any pretended right of controul over us, and the restoration of all those lands which you have occupied in our territories. You, on the contrary, under that name, seek to subject us, to which we will never consent while we have a drop of blood left in our veins."

As the governor was of a generous disposition, he could not but admire the noble sentiments of Antipillan, and dismissed him with the strongest demonstrations of esteem. But far from abandoning the posts established in the Araucanian territory, he passed the Bio-bio in 1594, and founded a new city at a little distance from that river, to which he gave the name of Coya, in honour of the princess his wife. This he intended not only as a place of retreat for the inhabitants of Angol, which was in the vicinity, but also to protect the rich gold mines of Kilacoyan. He established therein a municipal magistracy, and adorned it with several churches and monasteries; and in order to render it more secure, constructed two castles in front of it, called Jesus and Chivecura, which protected both shores of the river.

Paillamachu, solicitous of destroying this rising establishment, which reflected dishonour upon his command, in 1595 gave orders to Loncothequa, one of his captains, to take the fort of Jesus. This officer, after having burned one part of it, and twice penetrated into the other, was killed before he completed the enterprise. The Araucanian general began at length, in 1596, to harass with frequent incursions the Spanish districts, both to subsist his troops and habituate them to a military life. The Spanish army in vain went in pursuit of him; he always took care to avoid it, resolving to reserve his force for a more favourable occasion.

Finding no other means to restrain him, Loyola erected in the neighbourhood of his encampment two forts, one upon the ancient site of that of Puren, and the other on the very border of the marshes of Lumaco. These he garrisoned with the greater part of a reinforcement of troops which at that time he received from Peru, and sent the remainder, in 1597, to found an establishment in the province of Cujo, under the name of St. Louis de Loyola, which still exists, although in a miserable condition, notwithstanding the advantages of its situation.

Paillamachu soon took by storm the fortress of Lumaco, and gave the charge of reducing that of Puren to Pelantaru and Millacalquin. Having in ten days reduced the garrison to extremity, these officers, agreeably to the instructions of their general, retired on the arrival of a reinforcement of Spaniards under the command of Pedro Cortez, who had obtained great reputation in that war. The governor, nevertheless, shortly after arriving there with the rest of the army, ordered the fortifications to be demolished, and the garrison to be transferred to Angol, fearing to expose it to the fate of that of Lumaco. He then proceeded to Imperial, to secure that city in the best possible manner against the increasing strength of the enemy.

After having repaired the fortifications of Imperial, and also those of Villarica and Valdivia, he returned to the Bio-bio under an escort of three hundred men, whom he ordered back as soon as he thought himself in a place of security, retaining with him, besides his own family, only sixty half-pay officers and three Franciscan friars. Paillamachu, who had secretly watched his motions, and followed him with two hundred soldiers, conceived this a favourable opportunity to put his designs in execution. Accordingly, finding him encamped in the pleasant valley of Caralava, he fell upon him, while he was asleep, on the night of the 22d of November, 1598, and killed him with all his retinue. It would seem that the Araucanian general had formed confident hopes of the success of this bold enterprise, since, in consequence of his previous instructions, in less than forty-eight hours after this event, not only the Araucanian provinces but those of the Cunchese and Huilliches were in arms, and the whole of the country to the Archipelago of Chiloé. Every Spaniard who had the misfortune of being found without the garrisons was put to death; and the cities of Osorno, Valdivia, Villarica, Imperial, Canete, Angol, Coya, and the fortress of Arauco, were all at once invested with a close siege. Not content with this, Paillamachu, without loss of time, crossed the Bio-bio, burned the cities of Conception and Chillan, laid waste the provinces in their dependence, and returned loaded with spoil to his country.

On the first receipt of this melancholy news at the capital, the inhabitants, filled with consternation, abandoned themselves to despair, and agreed with one voice to quit the country and retire to Peru. As they had, however, some confidence in Pedro de Viscara, they assembled in council, and obliged him to take upon himself the government, till the court, on being made acquainted with the death of Loyola, should appoint some other. This officer, who was more than seventy years old, began his march for the frontiers in 1599, with all the troops that he could raise, and had the courage to cross the Bio-bio, and in the face of the besieging enemy, withdraw the inhabitants from Angol and Coya, with whom he repeopled the cities of Conception and Chillan. But his government continued only six months; for the viceroy of Peru, on being informed of the perilous situation of Chili, sent Don Francisco Quinones thither as governor, with a numerous reinforcement of soldiers, and a large supply of military stores. This commander had several actions with Paillamachu on the northern shore of the Bio-bio, whither the Araucanians had gone with an intention of laying under contribution, or of ravaging the Spanish provinces; but none of them were decisive. The most celebrated was that of the plains of Yumbel. The enterprising Toqui being on his return, at the head of two thousand men, with a great number of animals which he had taken from the district of Chillan, Quinones attempted to cut off his retreat with an equal number, the most of whom were Europeans. The two armies advanced with equal resolution. The Spaniards in vain attempted to keep the enemy at a distance by a constant fire from eight field pieces and all their musketry. They very soon came to close quarters, and the battle was continued with incredible fury for more than two hours, till night parted the combatants, and Paillamachu, availing himself of the obscurity, repassed the Bio-bio. The accounts from whence our information is derived merely state in general terms, that a great number of the Araucanians were slain, and not a few of the Spaniards. The governor upon this occasion made a useless display of severity, by ordering the prisoners to be quartered and hung upon the trees; a proceeding highly disapproved by the most prudent of his officers, who, from motives of humanity or self-interest, advised him not to furnish the enemy with a pretext for retaliation. But his adherence to the old maxim, of conquering by means of terror, rendered him deaf to their remonstrances. The consequence of this engagement was the evacuation of the fort of Arauco and the city of Canete, the inhabitants of which retired to Conception.

In the meantime Pailiamachu was in constant motion; sometimes encouraging by his presence the forces that besieged the cities, at others ravaging the Spanish provinces beyond the Bio-bio, to the great injury of the inhabitants. Having learned that the siege of Valdivia had been raised, he secretly hastened thither with a body of four thousand men, consisting of infantry and horse, among whom were seventy armed with arquebuses, taken in the last engagements from the Spaniards. On the night of the 14th of November he passed the broad river Calacala or Valdivia by swimming, stormed the city at day-break, burned the houses, killed a great number of the inhabitants, and attacked the vessels at anchor in the harbour, on board of which many had taken refuge, who only effected their escape by immediately setting sail. After this he returned in triumph to join Millacalquin, to whom he had entrusted the guard of the Bio-bio, with a booty of two million of dollars, all the cannon, and upwards of four hundred prisoners.

Ten days after the destruction of Valdiyia, Col. Francisco Campo arrived there from Peru with a reinforcement of three hundred men, but finding it in ashes, he endeavoured, though ineffectually, to introduce those succours into the cities of Osorno, Villarica, and Imperial. Amidst so many misfortunes, an expedition of five ships of war from Holland arrived in 1600 upon the coast of Chili, which plundered the island of Chiloé, and put the Spanish garrison to the sword. Nevertheless, the crew of the commodore having landed in the little island of Talca, or Santa Maria, was repulsed with the loss of twenty-three of their men by the Araucanians who dwelt there, and who probably supposed them to be Spaniards.

Quinones, disgusted with a war which was far from promising a fortunate issue, solicited and obtained his dismission from the government. He was succeeded by the old quarter-master, Garcia Ramon, of whom much was expected, from his experience and long acquaintance with the enemy. But that very knowledge induced him to act on the defensive, rather than hazard that part of the kingdom which was still subject to Spain, although he had received a regiment of select troops from Lisbon, under the command of Don Francisco Ovalle, father to the historian of that name. His government was, however, but of short duration. Alonzo Rivera, an officer who had rendered himself famous in the wars of the Low Countries, was sent out by the king as governor in his place, with a regiment of veterans. On assuming his office, he fortified with strong forts the shores of the Bio-bio, and greatly encouraged the inhabitants, who had not yet relinquished the idea of quitting Chili.

After a siege of two years and eleven months Villarica, a very populous and opulent city, fell at length, in 1692, into the hands of the Araucanians. A similar fate, after a short interval, was experienced by Imperial, the metropolis of the southern colonies, which would have fallen some months before, had not its fate been protracted by the courage of a Spanish heroine, called Ines Aguilera. This lady, perceiving the garrison to be discouraged and on the point of capitulating, dissuaded them from surrendering, and directed all the operations in person, until, a favourable opportunity presenting, she escaped by sea with the bishop and a great part of the inhabitants. She had lost during the siege her husband and brothers, and her valour was rewarded by the king with an annual pension of two thousand dollars.

Osorno, a city not less rich and populous than the preceding, was not able much longer to resist the fate that awaited it. It fell * under the vio-

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* Modern as American history is, it has had its full share of fable, and this city of Osorno furnished a subject for the last which has been invented. It is found in the twentieth volume of the *Semanario Erudito*.

In this great effort of the natives of Chili to recover their country, Osorno resisted them vigorously, and held out for six months: at the end of that time the Spaniards repulsed the lent efforts of the besiegers, who, freed from their attention to the others, were able to bring their whole force against it. Thus, in a period of little more than three years, were destroyed

besiegers in a general assault, and compelled them to break up the blockade; being however afraid of another attack, they retired about three or four leagues, to a peninsula at the south foot of the Cordillera, formed by the lake from which the river Bueno issues. Here they built a city and secured it on the isthmus with walls, bulwarks, moats, and draw-bridges: and here they remained and multiplied so as to form another city on the opposite side of the lake. They have plenty of boats. Their weapons are the lance, sword, and dagger; but whether of iron or not, the person who discovered the existence of these cities, had not been able to learn. They use also the thong and ball, and are greatly dreaded for their skill in throwing it; and they have artillery, but no muskets. The Indians call them Alcahuncas. Formerly they used to buy salt from the Pehuences, and even from the Indians who are under the Spanish government, which they paid for in silver; and this occasioned a great demand for salt at the Spanish settlements, where an ox was then the price of a loaf: but lately this demand has ceased, for they have found salt in abundance. They have retained their dress, their complexion, and their beards. A year only before this account was written, a man from Chiloé got to the city gates before the bridge was drawn up, and knocked for admittance. The soldier who was upon guard told him to hasten back as fast as possible, for their king, he said, was a cruel tyrant, and would infallibly put him to death if he was taken; he marvelled indeed that the Indians had let him pass thus far. This man was killed on his way back; but the news of his adventure reached Valdivia, and was fully believed there. It seems the people of these cities were under a grievous tyranny, and were therefore de-all the settlements which Valdivia and his successors had established and preserved, at the expense of so much blood, in the extensive country between the Bio-bio and the Archipelago of Chiloé, none of which have been since rebuilt, as what is at present called Valdivia is no more than a fort or garrison.

The sufferings of the besieged were great, nor can they scarcely be exceeded by those endured in the most celebrated sieges recorded in history. They were compelled to subsist on the most loathsome food, and a piece of boiled leather was considered as a sumptuous repast by the voluptuous inhabitants of Villarica and Osorno. The cities that were taken were destroyed in such a manner that at present few vestiges of them remain, and those ruins are regarded by the natives as objects of detestation. Although

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sirous of making their situation known to the Spaniards; but the chiefs took every possible precaution to prevent this, and the Indians, who possessed the intervening country, were equally solicitous to prevent any intelligence of this state from reaching the Spanish settlements, because it would bring them farther into the land.

This account is said to have been written in 1774, by Don Ignacio Pinuer, captain of infantry, and interpreter-general at Valdivia, and by him addressed to the president of Chili. The writer states that his thorough knowledge of the language of the natives, and his great intimacy with them, had enabled him, by the artful and persevering inquiries of eight and twenty years, to collect this information.—*E. E.*

great numbers of the citizens perished in the defence of their walls, the prisoners of all ranks and sexes were so numerous, that there was scarcely an Araucanian family who had not one to its share. The women were taken into the seraglios of their conquerors. Husbands were, however, permitted for the most part to retain their wives, and the unmarried to espouse the women of the country; and it is not a little remarkable that the mustees, or offspring of these singular marriages, became in the subsequent wars the most terrible enemies of the Spanish name.

The ransom and exchange of prisoners was also permitted. By this means many escaped from captivity. Some, however, induced by love of their children, preferred to remain with their captors during their lives; others, who acquired their affection by their pleasing manners, or their skill in the arts, established themselves advantageously in the country. Among the latter were Don Basilio Roxas and Don Antonio Bascugnan, both of noble birth, who acquired high reputation among the natives, and have left interesting memoirs of the transactions of their own times. But those who fell into brutal hands had much to suffer. Paillamachu did not long enjoy the applause of his countrymen; he died at the end of the year 1603, and was succeeded by Hunecura, his pupil in the school of Lumaco.

CHAP. VII.

COMPRISING A PERIOD OF THIRTEEN YEARS, FROM 1604 TO 1617.

Second unfortunate Government of Garcia Ramon; Restoration of the Court of Royal Audience; Ineffectual Negotiation for Peace.

WHILST Alonzo Rivera was wholly intent upon checking the progress of the victorious Araucanians, he was removed from the government of Chili to that of Tucuman, in consequence of having married the daughter of the celebrated Aguilera without obtaining the royal permission. Garcia Ramon, his predecessor, was appointed to succeed him, and received at the same time with his commission, a thousand soldiers from Europe, and two hundred and fifty from Mexico. As he was now at the head of an army of three thousand regular troops, besides auxiliaries, he returned to invade the Araucanian territories, and penetrated without much opposition as far as the province of Boroa, where he erected a fort, which he furnished with a good number of cannon, and a garrison of three hundred men, under the command of Lisperger.

Huenecura waited till the retreat of the army to attack this new establishment. On his march thither he fell in with the commander Lisperger, who had left the fort with one hundred and sixty of his soldiers in order to protect a convoy, and cut in pieces the whole detachment. He then proceeded to the attack of the fort, which he assailed three times with great fury. The battle was continued with the utmost obstinacy for the space of two hours, but Egidius Negrete, who succeeded to the command in place of Lisperger, manifested in the defence so much valour and military skill, that the Araucanian general found himself under the necessity of converting the storm into a blockade, which was continued until the governor gave orders for the garrison to evacuate the place.

After this the Spanish army proceeded to lay waste the enemy's country. For this purpose it was separated into two divisions, one under the command of the quarter-master, Alvaro Pineda, and the other under that of Don Diego Saravia. Huenecura, however, watching his opportunity, attacked and defeated them one after the other, and so complete was the rout, that there was not a single person who escaped death or captivity. Thus in a short time was that army, on which such flattering hopes had been founded, wholly dispersed. In consequence of these disasters, in 1608, the court of Spain issued orders, that hereafter there should constantly be maintained on the Araucanian frontier a body of two thousand regular troops, for whose support an appropriation of 292,279 dollars annually was made in the treasury of Peru.

After having been suppressed for thirty-four years, the Court of Royal Audience was re-established on the 8th of September, 1609, in the city of St. Jago, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, since which period it has continued to exist with a high reputation for justice and integrity. Ramon, who, by this new regulation, to the titles of governor and captain-general, had added that of president, returned and crossed the Bio-bio at the head of an army of about two thousand men. Huenecura advanced to meet him in the defiles of the marshes of Lumaco. The battle was obstinate and bloody, and the Spaniards were in great danger of being entirely defeated; but the governor, placing himself in the front line, animated his troops so far that they at length succeeded in breaking the enemy. Shortly after this battle, on the 10th of August, 1610, he died in Conception, greatly regretted by the inhabitants, to whom he was much endeared by his excellent qualities, and his long residence among them. He was also highly esteemed by the Araucanians, whom he always treated, when prisoners, with particular attention, and a humanity that did him honour in that age.

According to the royal decree establishing the Court of Audience, the government now devolved upon the eldest of the auditors, Don Louis Merlo de la Fuente.

About the same time, either from disease or in consequence of a wound that he received in the last battle, died the Toqui Huenecura. His successor was Aillavilu the Second, whom Don Basilio de Roxas, a contemporary writer, represents as one of the greatest of the Araucanian generals, and as having fought many battles with Merlo, and his successor Don Juan Xaraquemada; but he neither mentions the places where they were fought, nor any particulars respecting them.

Among the missionaries at that time charged with the conversion of the Chilians, there was a Jesuit called Louis Valdivia, who, perceiving that it was impossible to preach to the Araucanians during the tumult of arms, went to Spain, and represented in the strongest terms to Philip the Third, who was then on the throne, the great injury done to the cause of religion by the continuance of the war. That devout prince, who had more at heart the advancement of religion than the augmentation of his territories, sent orders immediately to the government of Chili to discontinue the war, and settle a permanent peace with the Araucanians, by establishing the river Bio-bio as the line of division between the two nations. With a view to insure the more punctual execution of his orders, he also determined to exalt the zealous missionary to the episcopal dignity, and commit to him the charge of the government of Chili; but Valdivia refused to accept of any thing except the privilege of nominating in his place a governor whose views were in conformity to his own. This was no other than Alonzo Rivera, who, as we have already observed, had been exiled to Tucuman.

Satisfied with the prosperous issue of his voyage, Valdivia returned to Chili in 1612, with a letter from the king himself to the Araucanian congress, relative to the establishment of peace and the promotion of religion. Immediately on his arrival he hastened to the frontiers, and communicated to the Araucanians by means of some prisoners whom he brought with him from Peru, the commission with which he was intrusted by the court. Aillavilu, who at that time held the chief command, paid little attention to this information, considering it as merely a story invented for the purpose of deceiving and surprising him; but he soon after dying or resigning his office, his successor Ancanamon thought proper to inquire into the truth of the report. With this view he directed the Ulmen Carampangui to converse with Valdivia, and learn his proposals in an assembly of the Ulmenes.

The missionary, on being invited by that officer, repaired under the protection of the Ulmen Lancamilla to Nancu, the principal place in the province of Catiray, where, in the presence of fifty of those chiefs, he made known his business and the substance of his negotiation, read the royal dispatches, and entered into a long explanation of the motives of his voyage, which concerned the general good of their souls. The assembly thanked him for his exertions, and promised to make a favourable report to the general.

Carampangui insisted on accompanying Valdivia to Conception, where he met with the governor, who dispatched the letter of the king to Ancanamon by Pedro Melendez, one of his ensigns, with a request that he would come to Paicavi, in order to confer with him upon the preliminaries of the peace. The Toqui was not long in repairing to the place appointed, with a small guard of forty soldiers and several Ulmenes. In his train were also a number of Spanish prisoners of the first families, to whom he had given their liberty. The governor, Valdivia, and the principal officers of the government, came out to receive him, and conducted him to his lodgings under the discharge of artillery. They then proceeded to discuss the articles of peace, which were, that the river Bio-bio should serve as a barrier to both nations, so that neither should be permitted to pass it with an army; that all deserters in future should be mutually returned, and that the missionaries should be permitted to preach the doctrines of christianity in the Araucanian territories.

The Araucanian general required as a preliminary the evacuation of the forts of Paicavi and Arauco, which had been lately erected upon the sea-coast. The governor abandoned the first, and agreed immediately on the conclusion of peace to quit the other. As the consent of the chiefs of the four Uthalmapus was however requisite to ratify the treaty, Ancanamon proposed to go and seek them in person, and bring them to the Spanish camp.

The negotiation was in this state of forwardness, when an unexpected event rendered abortive all the measures that had been taken. Among the wives of Ancanamon was a Spanish lady, who, taking advantage of his absence, fled for refuge to the governor, with two small children, and four women, whom she had persuaded to become christians, two of whom were the wives, and the others the daughters of her husband. The indignation of the Toqui on this occasion was extreme, though he was much less exasperated at the flight of his wives, than the kind reception which they had experienced from the Spaniards. As soon as he obtained information of it he relinquished every thought of peace, and returned back to demand them of the governor. His claim was taken into consideration; but a majority of the officers, many of whom were opposed to a peace from the advantage which they derived from the prisoners, refused to surrender the women to the Toqui, assigning as a reason their unwillingness to expose them to the danger of abandoning the faith which they had embraced. After many ineffectual propositions, Ancanamon, notwithstanding his resentment, was reduced to solicit merely the restoration of his daughters, whom he tenderly loved. He was answered, that as the eldest had not yet been converted to the christian faith, his request, as respected her, would be complied with, but that they could not so readily grant it in the case of the second, who had already been baptized.

While affairs were in this critical state, another character appeared upon the stage, who revived the almost extinguished hopes of the desired accommodation. Utaflame, Arch-Ulmen of Ilicura, had ever been the most inveterate enemy of the Spanish name; and in order to avoid all kind of commerce with the enemy, had constantly refused to ransom his sons or relations who were prisoners. He prided himself on having opposed with success all the governors of Chili, from the elder Villagran to Rivera; nor had the Spaniards ever been able to obtain a footing in his province, though it was situated in the neighbourhood of Imperial. Valdivia having at this time sent back one of his sons, who had been taken in the late war, he was so highly gratified that he came in person to visit him at the fort of Arauco; and in return for the civilities that he experienced from him and the governor, offered to receive the missionaries in his province, and to persuade Ancanamon to make peace with the Spaniards. He observed, however, that it would be necessary in the first place to return him his women, which could be done without exposing them to any danger, by first obtaining from him a pass of safe conduct in their favour: this was also the opinion of Valdivia. Utiflame took upon himself the management of the business, and departed, taking with him three missionaries, Horatio Vecchio, of Sienna, cousin to Pope Alexander VII. Martin Aranda, a native of Chili, and Diego Montalban, a Mexican, the friends and companions of his benefactor Valdivia.

No sooner had the exasperated Toqui learned the arrival of the missionaries at Ilicura, than he hastened thither with two hundred horse, and without deigning to listen to their arguments, slew them all, with their conductor Utiflame, who endeavoured to defend them. Thus were all the plans of pacification rendered abortive. Valdivia in vain attempted several times to revive the negotiation. The officers and soldiers who were interested in the continuance of the war, disconcerted all his schemes, and loudly demanded vengeance for the blood of the priests who were slain. The governor, notwithstanding his pacific wishes, found himself compelled to yield to their demands, and the war, contrary to the pious intentions of the king, was recommenced with greater fury than before. Ancanamon, on his part, eagerly desirous of revenging the affront he had received, incessantly harassed the Spanish provinces. His successor, Loncothegua, continued hostilities with equal obstinacy. Ovalle, a contemporary writer, observes, that he fought several bloody battles with the governor and his subaltern officers, but has given only an imperfect account of them. In 1617 Rivera died in Conception, having appointed the eldest Auditor, Fernando Talaverano, as his successor, who after a government of ten months was succeeded by Lope de Ulloa.

CHAP. VIII.

COMPRISES A PERIOD OF FOURTEEN YEARS, FROM 1618 TO 1632.

Daring Enterprises of the Toquis Lientur and Putapichion.

LONCOTHEGUA having resigned, the chief command of the Araucanian armies was conferred upon Lientur. The military expeditions of this Toqui were always so rapid and unexpected, that the Spaniards gave him the appellation of the wizard. He appointed Levipillan his lieutenant-general, by whom he was perfectly seconded in the execution of all his designs. Notwithstanding the Bio-bio was lined with sentinels and fortresses, he always contrived some means of passing and repassing it without experiencing any loss. His first enterprise was the capture of four hundred horses intended to remount the Spanish cavalry. He next ravaged the province of Chillan, and the Corregidor having marched to meet him, he entirely defeated and slew him, together with two of his sons, and several of the magistrates of the city.

Five days after this action he proceeded towards St. Philip of Austria, or Yumbel, with six hundred infantry and four hundred horse, whom he sent out in several divisions to ravage the country in the vicinity, leaving only two hundred to guard the narrow pass of the Congrejeras. Rebolledo, the commander of the place, provoked at his temerity, dispatched seventy horse to take possession of the abovementioned defile and cut off his retreat, but they were received with such bravery by the troops of Lientur, that they were compelled to retire for security to a hill, after having lost eighteen of their number, with their captain. Rebolledo sent to their assistance three companies of infantry, and the remainder of the cavalry. Lientur, who by this time had arrived with all his army, immediately formed his troops in battle array, fell upon the Spaniards, notwithstanding the continual fire of their musketry, and at the first encounter put the cavalry to flight. The infantry, being thus left exposed, were almost all cut in pieces; but thirty-six prisoners were taken by the victors, who were distributed in the several provinces of the country.

Had Lientur at that time invested the place, it must inevitably have fallen into his hands: but, for some reason which does not appear, he deferred the siege until the following year, when his attempts to take it were rendered ineffectual by the valiant defence of Ximenes, the commander. This failure was, however, recompensed by the capture of Neculguenu, the garrison of which he put to the sword, and made prisoners of all the auxiliaries who dwelt in the neighbourhood. These successes were followed by many others equally favourable, whence, according to contemporary writers, who are satisfied with mentioning them in general terms, he was considered as the darling child of fortune.

Ulloa, more a victim to the mortification and anxiety caused by the successes of Lientur than to sickness, died on the 20th of November,*

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* About this time the governor of Peru, D. Geronimo Luiz de Cabrera, made an expedition in search of the city of the Cesares—the El Dorado of Chili.

In Charles 5th's reign the bishop of Placencia is said to have sent out four ships to the Moluccas; when they had advanced about twenty leagues within the straits of Magalhaens, three of them were driven on shore and lost, but the crew escaped. The fourth got back into the North Atlantick, and when the weather abated again attempted the passage, and reached the place where her comrades had been lost. The men were still on the shore, and entreated to be taken on board; this was impossible—there was neither room nor provisions, and there they were left. An opinion prevailed that they got into the interior of Chili, settled there, and became a nation who are called the Cesares. It was believed that their very ploughshares are of gold. Adventurers reported that they had been near enough to hear the sound of their bells; and it

1620, and was, according to the established custom, succeeded by the eldest of the auditors, Christopher de la Cerda, a native of Mexico. For the better defence of the shores of the Biobio, he built there the fort which still goes by his name; he had also a number of encounters with Lientur, and during the short period of his government, which continued but a year, was constantly occupied in protecting the Spanish settlements. His successor, Pedro Sores Ulloa,

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was said that men of a fair complexion had been taken who were supposed to be of this nation.—*Ovalle, L.* 1. *c.* 5. *do. L.* 1. *c.* 10.

The existence of this city was long believed. Even after Feyjor had attempted to disprove, the Jesuit Mascardi went in search of it with a large party of Puelches, and was killed by the Poy-yas on his return from the fruitless quest—*Dobreyhoffer, T.* 3, 407.

The groundwork of this belief is satisfactorily explained by Falkner, c. 4. p. 112. "The report," he says, "that there is a nation in these parts, descended from Europeans, or the remains of shipwrecks, is, I verily believe, entirely false and groundless, and occasioned by misunderstanding the accounts of the Indians. For if they are asked in Chili concerning any inland settlement of Spaniards, they give an account of towns and white people, meaning Buenos Ayres, &c. &c. and so vice versa, not having the least idea that the inhabitants of these two distant countries are known to each other. Upon my questioning the Indians on this subject, I found my conjecture to be right; and they acknowledged, upon my naming Chiloé, Valdivia, &c. (at which they seemed amazed) that those were the places they had mentioned under the description of European settlements."—*E. E.*

continued the war with similar fortune, until his death, which happened on the 11th of September, 1624. He was succeeded by his brother-in-law, Francisco Alava, who retained the office only six months.

Lientur at length, advanced in years, and fatigued with his continual exertions, resigned, in 1625, the chief command to Putapichion, a young man, of a character for courage and conduct very similar to his own, who had passed the early part of his youth among the Spaniards, as a slave to one Diego Truxillo. The Spaniards also possessed at the same time a commander of uncommon valour and military skill: this was Don Louis de Cordova, lord of Carpio, and nephew to the viceroy of Peru, by whom he was abundantly supplied with warlike stores and soldiers, and ordered, in the name of the court, not to confine himself to defensive war, but to attack directly the Araucanian territory in various quarters.

His first care on his arrival at Conception was to introduce a reform of the military, and to pay the soldiers the arrears that were due to them. Those offices that were vacant he conferred on the Creoles, or descendants of the conquerors, who had been for the most part neglected; and by this measure, not only obtained their esteem, but that of all the inhabitants. After having established order in the government, he directed his cousin Alonzo Cordova, whom he had appointed quarter-master, to make an incursion with six hundred men in the provinces of Arauco and Tucapel. But he was not able to take more than a hundred and fifteen prisoners of both sexes, and a small number of cattle, the inhabitants having taken refuge with their families and effects in the mountains. Eight only attempted to oppose his march, who paid with their lives for their temerity.

In the meantime, Putapichion endeavoured to signalize the commencement of his command, by the capture of one of the strongest places belonging to the Spaniards on the Bio-bio. This was the fort of Nativity, situated on the top of a high and steep mountain, well furnished with soldiers and artillery, and both from its natural and artificial strength considered as impregnable. These considerations did not at all discourage the ardent temper of the young general. He came upon the fort unexpectedly; in a moment scaled the difficult ascent, possessed himself of the ditch, and set on fire with burning arrows the palisades and houses of its defenders. But the latter collected themselves in the only bastion that the flames had spared, kept up from thence so severe a fire upon the enemy, that Putapichion, despairing after some time of being able to maintain himself in the fort, retreated, taking with him twelve prisoners and several horses.

From thence he crossed the Bio-bio, and attacked the post of Quinel, which was defended by a garrison of six hundred men; but failing also in this attempt, he turned against the devoted province of Chillan, from whence he brought off a great number of peasants and of cattle, notwithstanding the exertions of the sergeant-major to stop his rapid march. In the following year, 1628, the governor, eager for retaliation, determined to invade the Araucanian provinces in three directions; to the quartermaster he assigned the maritime country, and to the sergeant-major that of the Andes, reserving the intermediate for himself. In pursuance of this plan, at the head of twelve hundred regular troops, and a correspondent number of auxiliaries, he traversed the provinces of Encol and Puren, captured a great number of men and cattle, and having passed the river Cauten, ravaged in a similar manner the rich district of Maquegua.

Whilst he was returning, well pleased with the success of his expedition, Putapichion presented himself with three thousand men in order of battle. The first encounter was so violent that many of the Spaniards having fallen, the rest were compleatly broken; but being at length rallied by the exertions of their valiant officers, they maintained their ground, so that the battle became more regular, and the slaughter was equal on both sides. Putapichion, however, who had recovered the spoil and taken some prisoners, during the confusion that the Spaniards were thrown into, thinking it not prudent to risk them on the event of a battle, ordered a retreat.

On his return to Conception, the governor met with the sergeant-major and the quarter-master. The first had not been able to effect any thing of importance, as the enemy had taken refuge in the mountains. The latter reported that having taken two hundred prisoners, and a booty of seven thousand horses and a thousand cattle, he had the misfortune to lose almost all of them, in consequence of a dreadful tempest that he met with on his return.

In the meantime, there arrived in Chili a new governor, appointed by the court in place of Cordova. This was Don Francisco Laso, a native of St. Andero, an officer who had gained much reputation in the wars of Flanders, where he had passed the principal part of his life. He at first sought to come to an accommodation with the Araucanians, and for that purpose sent home all the prisoners that were in the garrisons, with particular instructions to that effect. But their minds were not yet disposed to peace, the glory of establishing it being reserved for his successor; he, however, prepared the way for it by his victories, and by the ten years of unintermitted war that be made upon the enemy, in consequence of the rejection of his proposals.

Laso was not, however, in the commencement of his military operations highly favoured by fortune. The quarter-master, Cordova, who was preparing by his orders to invade the maritime provinces at the head of thirteen hundred men, was completely routed in Piculgue, a small district not far from the fort of Arauco. Putapichion, having placed a part of his army in ambuscade, contrived, with much skill, to induce him to come to battle in an unfavourable position. The Spanish horse which formed the advanced guard, not able to sustain the shock of the Auracanian cavalry, which had at this time become very expert, gave way. The infantry, being in consequence left exposed and surrounded upon all sides, were wholly destroyed after a combat of more than five hours, during which they performed prodigies of valour in resisting the furious assaults of the enemy. In this action the commander himself was slain, with five captains, and several other officers of merit.

As soon as the governor was informed of this defeat, he set out in person with a considerable body of troops in search of Putapichion. In the meantime, the latter, mocking the vigilance of Rebolledo the sergeant-major, who had promised to prevent his crossing the Bio-bio, passed that river with two hundred men, and taking advantage of the absence of the Spanish army, laid waste the neighbouring provinces. On receiving this information Laso returned, and immediately occupied with his troops all the known passages of the river; then taking with him a number of men equal to that of the enemy, he went in pursuit of them with all possible expedition. Having arrived at a place called Robleria, upon the shore of the river Itata, he was attacked with such courage by the Araucanian general, that at the first encounter the Spaniards gave way, forty of them being slain, with several of their officers. The rest owed their safety wholly to the valour of their commander, who, with that cool intrepidity which marks a great character, not only rallied and restored them to order, but also enabled them to repulse the enemy with loss.

Putapichion, satisfied with his success, and still more with having taken the scarlet cloak of the governor, returned and passed the Bio-bio without being pursued. He was received by his army with the liveliest demonstrations of joy, and in order to gratify them, he resolved to revive the almost forgotten festival of the *pruloncon.* A Spanish soldier taken in one of the preceding battles was the victim selected for this barbarous spectacle, and after the usual ceremonies the Ulmen Maulican, by order of the general, dispatched him with a blow of his club. This cruel action, which some have sought to excuse on the principle of retaliation, has dishonoured all the laurels of Putapichion. The torture of an innocent prisoner, upon whatever motive, or under whatever pretext it is inflicted, is a crime of the deepest dye against humanity. This cruel amusement was not however pleasing to all the nation Many of the spectators, as Don Francisco Bascugnan, an eye witness, asserts, compassionated the fate of the unfortunate soldier, and Maulican, to whom the office of dispatching him was assigned as a mark of honour, declared that he had consented to it with the utmost reluctance, and only to avoid quarrelling with his commander.

The governor having left to the quartermaster, Fernando Sea, the charge of guarding the Bio-bio, with thirteen hundred Spaniards and six hundred auxiliaries, withdrew to Santiago, where he raised two companies of infantry and one of cavalry. At the same time he received from Peru five hundred veteran soldiers. With these troops, and those whom he found upon the frontier, having formed a sufficient army, he proceeded immediately to the fort of Arauco, which he knew was menaced by Putapichion. That indefatigable general had indeed commenced his march for that place with seven thousand chosen troops whose valour he thought nothing was able to resist. But intimidated by some superstitious auguries of the Ex-Toqui

Lientur, who had resolved to share with him the glory of the enterprise, the greater part of them forsook him on the road. Not discouraged by this desertion, and observing that in war there could be no better omen than an eager desire to conquer, he continued his march with thirty-two hundred of the most determined who were resolved to follow him, and encamped at a short distance from the fort. Some of his officers advised him to attack it that same night, but he declined it, as well for the purpose of resting his troops, as not to give the enemy occasion to reproach him with always taking advantage, like a robber, of darkness to favour his operations.

Having resolved to offer him battle the next day, the governor made his men prepare themselves for it in the best manner possible, and that night had a skirmish with an advanced party of the enemy, who had approached very near the wall, and burned the houses of the auxiliaries. At day-break he took possession with his army of the important post of Alvarrada, which was flanked by two deep torrents, placing the cavalry, commanded by the quarter-master Sea, on the right, and the infantry, under the orders of sergeant-major Rebolledo, on the left.

Putapichion having observed the movements of the Spaniards, presented himself with his army in such excellent order, that the governor could not avoid openly expressing his admiration.

The soldiers, whose heads were adorned with beautiful feathers, appeared as much elated as if going to a banquet. The two armies remained some time observing each other, till at length Quepuantu, the Vice Toqui, by order of the general, gave the signal of attack. The governor then ordered the cavalry to charge, but it was so severely handled by the enemy's horse, that it took to flight, and sheltered itself in the rear of the army. At the same time the Araucanian infantry broke the Spanish lines in such a manner, that the governor gave up all for lost. Fortunately for him, at this critical moment Putapichion was slain. Availing himself of the confusion produced among the Araucanians by this circumstance, he rallied his troops, and charged the enemy anew, who were wholly intent on carrying off the body of their general. This they succeeded in effecting, but were completely routed; Quepuantu in vain endeavouring to stop, and bring them back to the charge, killing several of them with his own hand. Great was the slaughter of the fugitives who were pursued to the distance of six miles; of the Spaniards many also were killed; but from different accounts given by writers, the number cannot be ascertained.

CHAP. IX.

COMPRISING A PERIOD OF EIGHTY-SEVEN YEARS, FROM 1633 TO 1720.

Continuation of the War; New Expedition of the Dutch against Chili; Peace concluded with the Araucanians; Its short Duration; Exploits of the Toqui Clentaru; Series of Spanish Govornors to the Year 1720.

From the death of Putapichion to the termination of the government of Don Francisco Laso, the Toquis elected by the Araucanians continued the war with more rashness than good conduct. None of them, like Antiguenu or Paillamachu, possessed that coolness requisite to repair their losses, and counterbalance the power of the Spaniards. Quepuantu, who from the rank of a subaltern had been raised to the chief command, after the battle of Alvarrada, retired to a valley covered with thick woods, where he erected a house with four opposite doors, in order to escape in case of being attacked. The governor, having discovered the place of his retreat, sent the quarter-master Sea to surprise him with four hundred light armed troops. These arriving unexpectedly, Quepuantu took refuge, as he had planned, in the wood, but ashamed of his flight, he returned with about fifty men, who had come to his assistance, and furiously attacked the assailants. He continued fighting desperately for half an hour, but having lost almost all his men, accepted a challenge from Loncomallu, chief of the auxiliaries, by whom, after a long combat, he was slain.

A similar fate, in 1634, befel his successor and relation Loncomilla, in fighting with a small number of troops against a strong division of the Spanish army. Guenucalquin, who succeeded him, after having made some fortunate incursions into the Spanish provinces, lost his life in an engagement with six hundred Spaniards, in the province of Ilicura. Curanteo, who was created Toqui in the heat of the action, had the glory of terminating it by the rout of the enemy, but was shortly after killed in another conflict. Curimilla, more daring than his predecessors, repeatedly ravaged the provinces to the north of the Bio-bio, and undertook the siege of Arauco, and of the other fortifications on the frontier, but was finally killed by Sea in Calcoimo.

During the government of this Toqui, the Dutch attempted a second time to form an alliance with the Araucanians, in order to obtain possession of Chili; but this expedition was not more fortunate than the first.

The squadron, which consisted of four ships, was dispersed by a storm on its arrival on the coast in 1638. A boat, well manned and armed, being afterwards dispatched to the island of Mocha, belonging to the Araucanians, the inhabitants, supposing that they came to attack them, fell upon the crew, put the whole to death, and took possession of the boat. Another experienced a similar misfortune in the little island of Talca, or Santa Maria. The Araucanians, as has been already observed, were equally jealous, and not, as may be readily imagined, without reason, of all the European nations. Notwithstanding the ill-success of the Dutch, Sir John Narborough, an English naval commander, undertook some years after a similar enterprise, by order of his sovereign Charles the Second; but in passing the straits of Magellan, he lost his whole fleet, which was much better equipped than that of the Dutch.

In the meantime the governor, taking advantage of the imprudence of the Araucanian commanders, continued constantly to lay waste their provinces. By a proclamation he had at first directed that every prisoner taken in these incursions, capable of bearing arms, should be put to death; but afterwards, actuated by more humane sentiments, he ordered that they should be sent to Peru. This sentence was, however, more bitter to them than death. Whenever they came in sight of land, which is very common during that navigation, they hesitated not to throw themselves overboard, in the hope of escaping by swimming and returning to their country. Many had the good fortune to save themselves in this manner; but those who were not able to elude the vigilance of the sailors, as soon as they were landed on the island, or at the port of Callao, exposed themselves to every peril to effect their escape and return to their much loved country, coasting with incredible fatigue the immense space of ocean between the port and the river Bio-bio. Even their relations, more solicitous to deliver them from the miseries of exile than from death itself, when they were condemned to that punishment, frequently sent embassies to the governor to negotiate their ransom, but he always refused to consent to it, until they had laid down their arms, and submitted to his orders.

Laso had greatly at heart the performance of the promise, which, like several of his predecessors, he had made the king, of putting an end to the war. He of course put in operation every means possible of attaining that end. Indeed, no one was more capable of succeeding; but he had to contend with an invincible people. Nevertheless, he employed every measure that military science suggested to him, to effect their subjugation; now endeavouring by his victories to humble their pride, now ravaging their country with fire and sword, and now restraining them by the construction of fortresses in different places in their territory. He also founded a city not far from the ruins of Angol, to which he gave the name of St. Francis de la Vega. This settlement, which was protected by a garrison of four companies of horse and two of foot, was taken and destroyed by the Toqui Curimilla the very year of its foundation.

A war so obstinate must necessarily have caused the destruction of a great number of men. The Spanish army had become more than one half diminished, notwithstanding the numerous recruits with which it was annually supplied from Peru. On this account the governor sent Don Francisco Avendano to Spain to solicit new reinforcements, promising to bring the war to a termination in the course of two years. But the court, judging from the past that there was little reason to expect so successful an issue, appointed him a successor in the person of Don Francisco Zuniga Marquis de Baydes, who had given unquestionable proofs of his political and military talents, both in Italy and Flanders, where he had sustained the office of quarter-master-general.

On his arrival in Chili in 1740, this nobleman, either in consequence of private instructions from the minister, or of his own accord, had a personal conference with Lincopichion, to whom the Araucanians, upon the death of Curimilla, had confided the command of their armies. Fortunately, both the commanders were of the same disposition, and being equally averse to so destructive a war, readily agreed upon the most difficult articles of peace. The 6th of January of the following year was the day fixed for its ratification, and the place of meeting, the village of Quillin, in the province of Puren.

At the time fixed the Marquis appeared at the appointed place, with a retinue of about ten thousand persons, from all parts of the kingdom, who insisted on accompanying him. Lincopichion, who also came there at the head of the four hereditary Toquis, and a great number of Ulmenes and other natives, opened the conference with a very eloquent speech. He then, according to the Chilian custom, killed a camel, and sprinkling some of the blood on a branch of cinnamon, presented it in token of peace to the governor. The articles of the treaty were next proposed and ratified; they were similar to those which had been accepted by Ancanamon, except that the Marquis required that the Araucanians should not permit the landing of any strangers upon their coast, or furnish supplies to any foreign nation whatever; this being conformable to the political maxims of the nation, was readily granted. Thus was a period put to a war of ninety years, and this grand negotiation was terminated by the sacrifice of twenty-eight camels, and an eloquent harangue from Antiguenu, chief of the district, upon the mutual advantages which both nations would derive from the peace. After this the two chiefs cordially embraced, and congratulated each other on the happy termination of their exertions; they then dined together, and made each other mutual presents, and the three days succeeding were past by both nations in feasting and rejoicing.

In consequence of this treaty all the prisoners were released, and the Spaniards had the satisfaction of receiving, among others, forty-two of those who had been in captivity since the time of Paillamachu. Commerce, which is inseparable from the good understanding of nations, was established between the two people; the lands that had been deserted in consequence of hostile incursions were repopulated, and by their regular produce animated the industry of their undisturbed possessors; the hopes of religion became also again revived, and the missionaries began freely to exercise their ministry.

Notwithstanding these and other advantages which were to be expected from the peace, there were, among both the Araucanians and the Spaniards, some unquiet tempers, who endeavoured by specious reasons to prevent its ratification. The first said that it was only a scheme to deceive the Araucanians, in order at a future time to conquer them with more facility, by rendering them unaccustomed to the use of arms. Those of the Spaniards, on the contrary, pretended to be afraid that, if peace were established, the population of the enemy would be so much increased, that they would become sufficiently powerful to destroy all the Spanish settlements in Chili. Of the latter some had even the boldness to cry "to arms," and endeavour to instigate the auxiliaries to commence hostilities at the very time of the conference. But the Marquis, by justifying his intentions to the one, and reprimanding the other party, prevented the renewal of the war, and put the last hand to his glorious undertaking, which was approved and ratified by the court.

In 1643, two years after the peace, the importance of the article inserted by the governor in the treaty was rendered very apparent to the Spaniards, by a last attempt made by the Dutch to possess themselves of Chili. Their measures were so well taken, that had they been in the least seconded by the Araucanians, they must have infallibly succeeded. Having left Brasil, which they had conquered, with a numerous fleet, well provided with men and cannon, they took possession of the harbour of Valdivia, which had been deserted for more than forty years, where they intended to form an establishment in order to conquer the rest of the kingdom. With this view they immediately began building three strong forts at the entrance of the river, in order to secure its possession.

The Araucanians were invited, with the most flattering promises, to join them; this they not only declined, but strictly adhering to the stipulations of the treaty, refused to furnish them with provisions, of which they were greatly in want. The Cunchese, to whom the territory which they had occupied belonged, following the counsel of their allies, refused also to treat with them, or supply them. In consequence of this refusal, the Dutch, pressed with hunger, and hearing that a combined army of Spaniards and Araucanians were on their march against them, were compelled to abandon the place in three months after their landing. The Marquis de Mancura, son to the viceroy of Peru, having soon after arrived there in search of them with ten ships of war, fortified the harbour, and particularly the island, which has since borne the titular name of his family.

On the termination of the sixth year of his pacific government, Baydes, was recalled by the court, and Don Martin Muxica appointed in his place. He succeeded in preserving the kingdom in that state of tranquillity in which he found it, no other commotion occurring, during his government, but that produced by a violent earthquake, which, on the 8th of May, 1647, destroyed part of the city of Santiago. The fortune of his successor, Don Antonio Acugna, was very different. During his government the war was excited anew between the Spaniards and Araucanians, but contemporary writers have left us no account of the causes that produced it.

Clentaru, the hereditary Toqui of Lauquemapu, being in 1655 unanimously elected general, signalized his first campaign by the total defeat of the Spanish army, commanded by the sergeant-major, who fell in the action, together with all his men. This victory was followed by the capture of the fortresses of Arauco, Colcura, St. Pedro, Talcamavida, and St. Rosendo. The next year the Araucanian general crossed the Bio-bio, completely defeated Acugna, the governor, in the plains of Yumbel, destroyed the forts of St. Christopher, and of the Estancia del Rey, and burned the city of Chillan.

I regret much the want of materials for this part of my work, as all the memoirs of which I have hitherto availed myself terminate at this period; even the successes of Clentaru being only mentioned incidentally. All that we know is, generally, that this war was continued with great violence for a period of ten years, under the government of Don Pedro Portel Casanate, and Don Francisco Meneses. The last, who was a Portuguese by birth, had the glory of terminating it in 1665, by a peace more permanent than that made by Baydes. But, after freeing himself of the Araucanians, he had the misfortune to engage in a contest of a different kind with the members of the Royal Audience, who opposed his marrying the daughter of the Marquis de la Pica, as being contrary to the royal decrees. The quarrel was carried to such length, that the court of Spain was obliged to send out to Chili the Marquis de Navamorquende, with full powers to determine their difference. That minister, after due inquiry, sent Meneses to Peru, and took possession of his office. After him, to the end of the century, the government was administered in succession by Don Miguel Silva, Don Joseph Carrera, and Don Thomas Marin de Proveda, all of whom appear to have maintained a good understanding with the Araucanians, though Garro had nearly broken with them, on occasion of removing the inhabitants of the island of Mocho in 1686, to the north shore of the Bio-bio, in order to cut off all communication with foreign enemies.

The commencement of the present era was marked in Chili by the deposition of the governor Don Francisco Ibanez, the rebellion of the inhabitants of Chiloé, and the trade with the French. Ibanez, like Meneses, was banished to Peru, for having, as is said, espoused the party in opposition to the house of Bourbon in the war of succession. His office, until the year 1720, was filled by Don Juan Henriquez, Don Andrew Uztariz, and Don Martin Concha. The islanders of Chiloé were soon restored to obedience, through the prudent conduct of the quarter-master-general of the kingdom, Don Pedro Molina, who was sent against them with a considerable body of troops, but who succeeded in reducing them rather by mild measures than by useless victories.

The French, in consequence of the above-mentioned war of succession, possessed themselves for a time of all the external commerce of Chili. From 1707 to 1717 its ports were filled with their ships, and they carried from thence incredible sums in gold and silver. Many of them who became attached to the country settled themselves in it, and have left numerous descendants. It was at this period, that the learned father Feuillé, who remained there three years, made his botanical researches and meteorological observations upon the coast. His amiable qualities obtained him the esteem of the inhabitants, who still cherish his memory with much affection.

CHAP. X.

A Brief Account of the War of the Toquis Vilumilla and Curignancu; Spanish Governors to the Year 1787.

The Araucanians had for some time been very much dissatisfied with the peace. They perceived that it gave the Spaniards an opportunity of forming new establishments in their country. They also endured very impatiently the insolence of those who were designated by the title of Captains of the Friends, and who having been introduced under pretence of guarding the missionaries, arrogated to themselves a species of authority over the natives, who, stimulated by resentment for these grievances, determined, in 1722, to create a Toqui, and have recourse to arms.

The choice fell upon Vilumilla, a man of low rank, but one who had acquired a high reputation for his judgment, courage, and extensive views. His object was no less than the expulsion of the Spaniards from the whole of Chili. To succeed in this arduous enterprise, it was necessary to obtain the support of all the Chilians, from the confines of Peru to the Bio-bio. Vast as was the plan, it appeared to him not to be difficult of execution. Having killed in a skirmish three or four Spaniards, and among them one of the pretended Captains of Friends, he dispatched, according to custom, a messenger with one of their fingers, to the Chilians in the Spanish provinces, inviting them to take arms at a signal to be given by kindling fires upon the tops of the highest mountains. On the 9th of March, 1723, the day appointed for the open declaration of hostilities, fires were accordingly kindled upon the mountains of Copiapo, Coquimbo, Quillota, Rancagua, Maúle, and Itata. Owing to the smallness of their numbers, or their apprehension of the issue of the war, the natives, however, made no movement.

Vilumilla was, however, by no means discouraged on seeing his projects evaporate in smoke. As soon as he had declared war, he set out immediately at the head of his troops to attack the Spanish settlements. But before commencing his march, he was careful to give information to the missionaries, and request them to quit the country, in order to avoid being ill-treated by his detached parties. The capture of the fort of Tucapel was the first fruit of this expedition. The garrison of Arauco, fearing the same fate, abandoned the place. Having destroyed these fortresses, he directed his march against that of Puren, which he expected to possess himself of without resistance. But Urrea, the commanding officer, opposed him so vigorously that he was compelled to besiege it. In a short time the garrison was reduced to great extremities from hunger and thirst, as the aqueduct which supplied them with water had been destroyed by the enemy, and the commander, having made a sortie in order to procure supplies, was slain, together with the soldiers accompanying him.

In this critical state of affairs, the governor, Don Gabriel Cano, who had succeeded Concha, arrived with an army of five thousand men. Vilumilla, expecting immediately to come to action, posted himself behind a torrent, and drew up his troops in order of battle: but Cano, though repeatedly provoked by the enemy, thought it more advisable to abandon the place, and retire with the garrison. The war afterwards became reduced to skirmishes of but little importance, which were finally terminated by the celebrated peace of Negrete, a place situated at the confluence of the rivers Bio-bio and Lara, where the treaty of Quillan was reconfirmed, and the odious title of Captain of Friends wholly abolished.

Cano, after a mild and harmonious government of fifteen years, died in the city of St. Jago. He was succeeded by his nephew, Don Manuel Salamanca, who was appointed by the viceroy of Peru, and whose whole conduct was conformable to the humane maxims of his uncle. Don Joseph Manso, who was sent from Spain as his successor, brought orders from the king to collect the numerous Spanish inhabitants dispersed over the country in compact societies. For this purpose, in 1742, he founded the cities of Copiapo, Aconcagua, Melipilla, Rancagua, St. Fernando, Curico, Talca, Tutuben, and Angeles. In reward for this service he was promoted to the splendid dignity of viceroy of Peru. His successors continued to form new establishments, but these have never flourished like the first. In 1753, Santa Rosa, Guasco-alto, Casablanca, Bella-Isla, Florida, Coulemu, and Quirigua, were built by Don Domingo Rosas. He also sent inhabitants to settle the large island of Juan Fernandez, which till that time had remained desert to the great injury of commerce, as the pirates found therein a secure retreat, from whence they could with facility attack the trading ships. Don Manuel Amat, who was afterwards viceroy of Peru, in 1729, founded upon the Araucanian frontier the cities of St. Barbara, Talcamavida, and Gualqui.

Don Antonio Guill Gonzaga attempted under his government to effect more than his predecessors. He undertook to compel the Araucanians to live in cities. This chimerical scheme was ridiculed by those who were best acquainted with the country, while others supposed it practicable. Many counsels were held to devise the most suitable means of carrying this scheme into execution, which the wishes of the governor made him consider as very easy. The Araucanians were informed of all these proceedings by their spies, and apprehensive of the danger to which such an innovation might expose their liberties, they met secretly to deliberate upon the measures they should take to elude the designs of their neighbours without having recourse to arms, when the following resolutions were adopted by the national council: In the first place, to delay as long as possible the business, by equivocal replies and delusive promises. Secondly, When pressed to commence building, to require from the Spaniards tools and other necessary aid. Thirdly, To have recourse to arms whenever they found themselves obliged to begin the work, but to conduct it in such a manner, that only the provinces that were compelled to build should declare war, the others remaining neutral in order to be able to mediate a peace. Fourthly, To come to a general rupture whenever they found that the mediation of the latter would not be accepted. Fifthly, To allow the missionaries to depart without injury, as they had nothing to accuse them with but of being Spaniards. Sixthly, To make choice immediately of a Toqui, who should have in charge to attend to the execution of the above-mentioned regulations, and to have every thing in readiness to take the field as soon as circumstances should require it.

In compliance with this last article they proceeded to the election that very day. The suffrages were unanimous in favor of Antivilu, Arch-Ulmen of the province of Maquegua, who possessed great influence in the assembly; but he having declined, on account of the neutrality which it had been agreed his province should maintain, the choice fell upon Curignancu, brother to the Ulmen of Encol, who combined all the qualities necessary at such a crisis.

At the first conference the governor proposed his plan under every aspect that could render it agreeable. The Araucanians, agreeably to their previous agreement, objected, appeared to consent, equivocated, and ended by requesting the necessary assistance for beginning the work. Having pointed out the situations which appeared the most eligible for the erection of the new cities, a great quantity of wrought iron was sent them by the governor, together with provisions and cattle for the transportation of the timber. The work, nevertheless, made no progress. In consequence of this, the quarter-master Cabrito repaired thither with several companies of soldiers, in order to stimulate the operations, and placed superintendants in every quarter. The sergeant-major Rivera was charged with the building of Nininco, and captain Burgoa with that of the other city, which was to be erected on the shore of the Bio-bio ; while the quarter-master directed the operations from his head-quarters at Angol.

The Araucanians, however, instead of pick-axes seized their lances, slew the superintendants, and having united to the number of five hundred under the standard of their Toqui, proceeded to besiege Cabrito in his camp. Burgoa, after having been very roughly treated, was set at liberty, in consequence of his being said to be an enemy of the quarter-master. The sergeant-major, escorted by a missionary, crossed the Bio-bio in sight of the enemy, who were in search of him to kill him, and afterwards returned at the head of four hundred men to relieve Cabrito. Another missionary, Don Pedro Sanchez, requested the Araucanian officer sent to escort him to forgive a Spaniard by whom he had been grievously offended a short time before ; the Araucanian replied, that he had nothing to fear while in his company ; besides, that the present was no time to think of revenging private injuries. Such was the attention paid to the security of these characters, that not a Spaniard was slain who was able to avail himself of their protection.

In the meantime the governor entered into an alliance with the Pehuenches, in order to attack the Araucanians in several places at the same time. Curignancu, being informed of their approach, fell upon them unexpectedly on their leaving the Andes, took prisoners their general, Coligura, with his son, whom he put to death, and completely routed them. This disgrace, which appeared calculated to embitter that nation for ever towards the Araucanians, on the contrary reconciled them so completely, that they have ever since aided them in their expeditions, and have become the most implacable enemies of the Spaniards. Curignancu availed himself of the assistance of these mountaineers during the war to harass the provinces in the vicinity of the capital. Since that time they have made a practice of frequently attacking the Spanish caravans from Buenos Ayres to Chili, and every year furnishes some melancholy information of that kind.

Gonzaga, whose sanguine expectations had led him to be too hasty in giving information to the court of the success of his grand project, could not endure the mortification of seeing it wholly destroyed. A chronic complaint, to which he was subject, was so much increased by this disappointment, that it deprived him of life in the second year of the war, to the great regret of the inhabitants, to whom he was much endeared by his estimable qualities. Don Francisco Xavier de Morales succeeded him by the appointment of the viceroy of Peru. The neutral provinces, as had been concerted, had now declared in favour of the others, and the war was prosecuted with vigour. Curignancu on the one side, and his brave Vice Toqui Leviantu on the other, kept the Spanish troops, which had been reinforced by several divisions from Spain, constantly in motion. It is not in our power to notice particularly the different actions; among others a bloody battle was fought in the beginning of the year 1773, mention of which was made in the European gazettes of that period, at which time the war had cost the royal treasury and individuals one million seven hundred thousand dollars.

The same year an accommodation was agreed on. Curignancu, who was invested by his nation with full powers to settle the articles, required as a preliminary, that the conferences should be held in the city of St. Jago. Although this requisition was contrary to the established custom, it was nevertheless granted by the Spaniards without much difficulty. When they afterwards came to treat of the terms of peace, the Araucanian plenipotentiary made another proposition, which appeared more extraordinary than the first. He required that his nation should be allowed to keep a minister resident in the city of St. Jago. The Spanish officers who were present strongly opposed this demand, but the governor thought it advisable to grant it, as by this means he would have it in his power more readily to adjust any disputes that might arise. These two proposals, however, considering the disposition and mode of living of the Araucanians, may furnish a copious field for conjecture. The other articles of the peace were not attended with the least difficulty; the treaties of Quillin and Negrete being by mutual consent revived.

On the death of Gonzaga, the court of Spain sent Don Augustin Jauregui to govern Chili, who has since filled with universal approbation the important office of viceroy of Peru. His successor, Don Ambrosio Benavides, at present, renders the country happy by his wise and beneficent administration.

CHAP. XI.

Present State of Chili.

From the brief relation that we have given of the occurrences in Chili since its discovery, it will be seen that its possession has cost Spain more blood and treasure than all the rest of her settlements in America. The Araucanians, occupying but a small extent of territory, have with far inferior arms not only been able to counterbalance her power till then reputed irresistible, but to endanger the loss of her best established possessions. Though the greater part of her officers had been bred in that school of war, the low countries, and her soldiers, armed with those destructive weapons before which the most extensive empires of that continent had fallen, were considered as the best in the world, yet have this people succeeded in resisting them.

This will appear more wonderful when we call to mind the decided superiority that the discipline of Europe has ever given its troops in all parts of the world. The rapidity of the Spanish conquests excited universal astonishment. A few

Portuguese gained possession of an extensive territory in the East, with a facility almost incredible, notwithstanding the number and strength of the natives, who were accustomed to the use of fire-arms. Their general, Pacheco, with a hundred and sixty of his countrymen, several times defeated the powerful Zamorin, who commanded an army of fifty thousand soldiers, well supplied with artillery, without the loss of a single man. Brito, who was besieged in Cananor, was equally successful in defeating a similar army. Even in our days, Mons. de la Touche, with three hundred French, put to flight an army of eighty thousand Indians, who had invested him in Pondicherry, and killed twelve hundred with the loss of only two of his men. Notwithstanding the combined efforts of force and skill, the Araucanians have constantly kept possession of their country. A free people, however inconsiderable in point of numbers, can perform wonders: The page of history teems with examples of this kind.

The Spaniards, since losing their settlements in Araucania, have prudently confined their views to establishing themselves firmly in that part of Chili, which lies between the southern confines of Peru and the river Bio-bio, and extends from the 24th to the 36th and a half degree of south latitude; this, as has been already mentioned, they have divided into thirteen provinces.* They also possess the fortress of Valdivia, in the country of the Cunchese, the Archipelago of Chiloé, and the island of Juan Fernandez. These provinces are governed by an officer, who has usually the rank of lieutenant-general, and combines the title of president, governor, and captain-general of the kingdom of Chili. He resides in the city of St. Jago, and is solely dependant upon the king, except in case of war, when, in certain points, he receives his directions from the viceroy of Peru.

In quality of captain-general he commands the army, and has under him, not only the three principal officers of the kingdom, the quartermaster, the sergeant-major, and the commissary, but also the four governors of Chiloé, Valdivia, Valparaiso, and Juan Fernandez. As president and governor he has the supreme administration of justice, and presides over the superior tribunals of that capital, whose jurisdiction extends over all the Spanish provinces in those parts.

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* During the government of Jauregui, the province of Maúle was divided into two, the river of that name, serving as the boundary for each: the part situated to the north of it retaining its former name, and that lying to the southward assuming that of Cauquenes its capital. Of late years a farther reduction of that province has taken place, by the separation from it on the north of three curacies, in order to form, with some of the lands of Calchagua, the new province of Curico.

The principal of these is the Tribunal of Audience, or Royal Senate, whose decision is final in all causes of importance both civil and criminal, and is divided into two courts, the one for the trial of civil, and the other for that of criminal causes. Both are composed of several respectable judges called auditors, of a regent, a fiscal or royal procurator, and a protector of the Indians. All these officers receive large salaries from the court. Their judgment is final, except in causes where the sum in litigation exceeds ten thousand dollars, when an appeal may be had to the supreme council of the Indies. Justice, as has been already observed, is universally agreed to be administered by them with the utmost impartiality. The other supreme courts are that of Finance, of the *Cruzada,* of Vacant Lands, and the Consulate or Tribunal of Commerce, which is wholly independent of any other of that kind.

The provinces are governed by Prefects, formerly called Corregidors, but at present known by the name of *sub-delegates ;* these, according to the forms of their institution, should be of royal nomination, but, owing to the distance of the court, they are usually appointed by the captain-general, of whom they style themselves the lieutenants. They have jurisdiction both of civil and military affairs, and their emoluments of office depend entirely upon their fees, which are by no means regular. In each capital of a province there is, or at least should be, a municipal magistracy called the Cabildo, which is composed, as in other parts of the Spanish dominions, of several members, called Regidores, who are appointed for life, of a standard-bearer, a procurator, a forensic judge, denominated the Provincial Alcalde, an Alguazil, or high sheriff, and of two consuls, or burgo-masters, called Alcaldes. The latter are chosen annually from among the principal nobility by the Cabildo itself, and have jurisdiction both in civil and criminal causes in the first instance.

The inhabitants are divided into regiments, which are obliged to march to the frontiers or the sea-coast in case of war.* Besides this

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* In the royal service, there are at present (1792) fifteen thousand eight hundred and fifty-six militia troops, enrolled in the two bishoprics of Santiago and Conception, ten thousand two hundred and eighteen in the first, and five thousand six hundred and thirty-eight in the latter. These military corps were first formed in 1777, during the government of Don Augustin de Jaregui, and consist of the choicest men in the kingdom. They are called out only upon public occasions, and seldom perform the duty of sentinels or patroles, enjoying this privilege in consequence of always holding themselves ready for war, and continually exercising themselves in arms.

Besides this regular militia, there are a great many city militias that are commanded by commissaries, who act as colonels. They have under them several companies, the number of which is various and depends upon the extent of the militia, the king maintains there a sufficient force of regular troops for the defence of the country,* but as this establishment has been augmented of late, I cannot determine the number. In Conception, which is upon the Araucanian frontier, there are two regiments, one of cavalry and one of infantry. The cavalry is commanded by the brigadier-general, Don Ambrosio Higgins, a native of Ireland, who, by his enlightened mind and excellent disposition, has gained the love and esteem of all the inhabitants. He is likewise quarter-master and intendant of the department of Conception.† The infantry, as well as the

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district; these in like manner have no fixed number, sometimes exceeding one hundred men, and frequently falling short. From these companies, the recruits to supply the vacancies in the regular corps are drawn or selected. They serve as guards for the prisons, and for the escort of criminals, and perform such other duties as the police demands, without being exempted from military service when occasion requires, whence all persons capable of bearing arms are enrolled in these companies, except such as are immediately necessary for cultivating the land, and taking care of the cattle—*Span. Trans.*

* All the veteran troops throughout Chili amount to one thousand nine hundred and seventy-six men, and consist of two companies of artillery, nine of horse, including the Queen's dragoons at Santiago, and the remainder infantry.—*Span. Trans.*

† On the 21st of November, 1787, this gentleman was appointed by the king, president, governor, and captain-general

artillery, is under the command of two lieutenant-colonels. The city of St. Jago also keeps in pay some companies of dragoons for its protection. The revenues and expenses of the government I am unable to ascertain, as they have been considerably increased within a few years.

As respects the ecclesiastical government, Chili is divided into the two large dioceses of St. Jago and Conception, which cities are the residence of the bishops, who are suffragans to the archbishop of Lima. The first diocese extends from the confines of Peru to the river Maúle, comprehending the province of Cujo upon the other side of the Andes. The second comprises all the rest of Chili with the islands, although the greater part of this extent is inhabited by pagans. The cathedrals are supplied with a proper number of canons, whose revenues depend upon the tythes, as do those of the bishops. The court of inquisition at Lima has at St. Jago a commissioner, with several subaltern officers.

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of Chili, and on the 19th of September, 1789, field-marshal of the royal armies. At the present time, 1792, he discharges the duties of those offices with all that vigilance and attention which characterize him, and which so important a trust requires. On his first accession to the government, he visited in person the northern provinces, for the purpose of dispensing justice and encouraging agriculture, opening of the mines, commerce, and fishery. He also established public schools, repaired the roads, and built several cities.—*Ibid.*

Pedro Valdivia, on his first entering Chili, brought with him the monks of the order of Mercy, and about the year 1553 introduced the Dominicans and strict Franciscans. The Augustins established themselves there in 1595, and Hospitallers of St. John of God about the year 1615. These religious orders have all a number of convents, and the three first form distinct jurisdictions. The brothers of St. John of God have the charge of the hospitals, under a commissary, who is dependant upon the provincial of Peru. These are the only religious fraternities now in Chili. The Jesuits, who came into Chili in 1593 with the nephew of their founder, Don Martin de Loyola, formed likewise a separate province. Others have several times attempted, but without success, to form establishments, the Chilians having always opposed the admission of new orders among them. In St. Jago and Conception are several convents of nuns, but they are the only cities that contain them.

The cities are built in the best situations in the country. Many of them, however, would have been better placed for the purposes of commerce upon the shores of the large rivers. This is particularly the case with those of more recent construction. The streets are straight, intersecting each other at right angles, and are thirty-six French feet in breadth. On account of earthquakes, the houses are generally of one story; they are, however, very commodious, white-washed without, and generally painted within. Each is accommodated with a pleasant garden, irrigated by an aqueduct that furnishes water for the use of the family. Those belonging to the wealthier classes, particularly the nobility, are furnished with much splendour and taste. The inhabitants, perceiving that old buildings of two stories have resisted the most violent shocks, have of late years ventured to reside in the upper rooms, and now begin to construct their houses in the European manner. In consequence of this the cities have a better appearance than formerly, and the more so, as instead of forming their houses of clay hardened in the sun, which was supposed less liable to injury, they now employ brick and stone. Cellars, sewers, and wells, were formerly much more common than at present, a circumstance which may have contributed to render the buildings more secure from earthquakes.

The churches are generally more remarkable for their wealth than their style of architecture. The cathedral and the church of the Dominicans in the capital, which are built of stone, are, however, exceptions. The first was constructed at the royal expense, under the direction of the present bishop, Don Manuel Alday, an excellent and learned prelate; it is built in a masterly style, and is 384 French feet in front. The plan was drawn by two English architects, who superintended the work; but when it was half finished they refused to go on, unless their wages were increased. In consequence of this the building was suspended, when two of the Indians, who had worked under the Englishmen, and had secrectly found means of instructing themselves in every branch of the art, offered to complete it, which they did with as much skill and perfection as their masters themselves could have displayed. In the capital the following edifices are also worthy of remark: the barracks for the dragoons, the mint, which has been lately built by a Roman architect, and the hospital for orphans, founded by Don Juan Nic-Aguirre, Marquis of Monte-pio, and endowed by his present majesty, who patronizes with much liberality all establishments of public utility.

Spanish Chili, in consequence of the freedom granted to its maritime trade by the present government, is peopling with a rapidity proportioned to the salubrity of its climate and the fertility of its soil. Its population in general is composed of Europeans, Creoles, Indians, Negroes, and Mustees. The Europeans, except a few French, English, and Italians, are Spaniards, who for the most part are from the southern provinces of Spain. The Creoles, who form the greater number, are the descendants of Europeans. Their character, with some slight difference, proceeding from climate or government, is precisely similar to that of the other American Creoles of European origin. The same modes of thinking, and the same moral qualities, are discernible in them all. This uniformity, which furnishes much subject for reflection, has never yet been considered by any philosopher in its full extent. Whatever intelligent and unprejudiced travellers have observed respecting the characters of the French and English Creoles, will perfectly apply to that of the Chilian.*

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* The Creoles are generally well made. Those deformities so common in other countries are very rarely to be found among them. Their courage has frequently signalized itself in war by a series of brilliant actions; nor would there be any better soldiers in the world if they were less averse to discipline. Their history furnishes no traits of that cowardice, treachery, and base conduct, which dishonour the annals of all nations, and scarcely can an instance be adduced of a Creole having committed a disgraceful act.

Their minds are untainted with dissimulation, artifice, or suspicion. Possessing great frankness and vivacity, and a high opinion of themselves, their intercourse is wholly free from that mystery and reserve which obscure amiableness of character, depress the social spirit, and chill sensibility.

An ardent imagination, which admits of no restraint, renders them independent and inconstant in their inclinations. It impels them to the pursuit of pleasure with an eagerness to which they sacrifice their fortunes and their very existence. A keen penetration, a remarkable quickness in conceiving and in expressing their ideas with force, the talent of combining

They are generally possessed of good talents, and succeed in any of the arts to which they apply themselves. They would make as great progress in the useful sciences as they have done in metaphysics, if they had the same motives to stimulate them as are found in Europe. They do not readily imbibe prejudices, and are not tenacious in retaining them. As scientific books and instruments, however, are very scarce, or sold at an exorbitant price, their talents are either never developed, or are wholly employed upon trifles. The expenses of printing are also so great, as to discourage literary exertion, so that few aspire to the reputation of authors. The knowledge of the civil and canonical laws is held in great esteem by them, so that many of the Chilian youth, after having completed their course of academical education in Chili, proceed to Lima, which is highly celebrated for its schools of law, in order to be instructed in that science.

The fine arts are in a very low state in Chili, and even the mechanical are as yet very far from perfection. We may except, however, those of carpentry, and the working of iron and the pre-

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added to that of observation, and a happy mixture of all the qualities of mind and of character that render man capable of the greatest performances, prompt them to the boldest undertakings, when stimulated by oppression.—*Raynal's History of the Indies*, vol. v. lib. ii.

cious metals, which have made considerable progress, in consequence of the information obtained from some German artists, who were introduced into the country by that worthy ecclesiastic, Father Carlos, of Hainhausen in Bavaria.

The important change which the exertions of the present monarch have so materially contributed to produce throughout his dominions, in directing the attention of his subjects to useful improvements, has extended itself to these parts. The arts and sciences, which before were either not known, or very imperfectly, at present engage the attention of the inhabitants, so that there is reason to hope that in a short time the state of the country will assume a very different appearance.

The peasantry, though for much the greater part of Spanish origin, dress in the Araucanian manner. Dispersed over that extensive country, and unencumbered by restraint, they possess perfect liberty, and lead a tranquil and happy life, amidst the enjoyments of that delightful climate.* They are naturally gay, and fond of all kinds of diversion. They have likewise a taste for music, and compose verses after their manner, which, although rude and inelegant, possess a certain natural simplicity more interesting than the laboured compositions of cultivated poets. Extemporaneous rhymers, or improvisatori, are common among them, and are called in their language *Palladores*. Those known to possess this talent are held in great estimation, and apply themselves to no other occupation. In the countries dependant on the Spanish colonies, there is generally no other language than the Spanish spoken; but on the frontiers the peasants speak the Araucanian or Chilian as well as the former.

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* The principal part of these healthy and robust men live dispersed upon their possessions, and cultivate with their own hands a greater or less extent of ground. They are incited to this laudable labour by a sky always clear and serene, and a climate the most agreeably temperate of any in the two hemispheres, but more especially by a soil whose fertility has excited the admiration of all travellers.—*Raynal,* lib. viii.; CHILI.

The men dress in the French, and the women in the Peruvian fashion, except that the women of Chili wear their garments longer than those of Peru. In point of luxury, there is no difference between the inhabitants of the two countries; Lima prescribes the fashions for Chili, as Paris does for the rest of Europe. Those who are wealthy make a splendid display in their dress, their servants, coaches, or titles. Chili alone, of all the American provinces, has enjoyed the superior privilege of having two of its citizens exalted to the dignity of grandees of Spain; these are, Don Fernando Irrazabal, Marquis of Valparaiso, born in St. Jago, who was viceroy of Navarre, and generalissimo of the

Spanish army in the time of Philip the Fourth; and Don Fermin Caravajal, Duke of St. Carlos, a native of Conception, who resides at present at the court of Madrid. Don Juan Covarrubias, who was a native of St. Jago, in the beginning of the present century entered into the service of the king of France, and was rewarded with the title of Marquis of Covarrubias, the order of the Holy Ghost, and the rank of Marshal in the French army.

The salubrity of the air, and the constant exercise on horseback to which they accustom themselves from childhood, render them strong and active, and preserve them from many diseases. The small pox is not so common as in Europe, but it makes terrible ravages when it appears. This disease was, in the year 1766, for the first time introduced into the province of Maúle, where it became very fatal. A countryman who had recovered from it, conceived the idea of attempting to cure a number of unhappy wretches, who had been abandoned, by cow's milk, which he gave them to drink, or administered to them in clysters. With this simple remedy he cured all those whom he attended; while the physicians with their complicated prescriptions saved but a very few. I have mentioned this anecdote, as it serves strongly to confirm the successful experiments of M. Lassone, physician to the queen of France, in the cure of the small pox with cow's milk, published by himself in the medical transactions of Paris for the year 1779. The countryman, however, employed milk alone, whereas M. de Lassone thought it advisable to mix it with a decoction of parsley roots. These instances would seem to prove that milk has the singular property of lessening the virulence of this disorder, and repressing its noxious or deadly qualities.

The inhabitants of the country are generally very benevolent. Contented with a comfortable subsistence, they may be said scarcely to know what parsimony or avarice is, and are very rarely infected with that vice. Their houses are open to all travellers that come, whom they freely entertain without an idea of pay, and often on these occasions regret that they are not more wealthy, in order to exercise their hospitality to a greater extent. This virtue is also common in the cities.* To this cause it is owing that they have not hitherto been attentive to the erection of inns and public lodging-houses, which will, however, become necessary when the commerce of the interior is more increased.

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* Throughout Chili they are extremely kind to strangers; the inhabitants are unequalled in point of hospitality, and I have myself experienced such great and important favours, that I cannot find words to express my gratitude. The ill return that they have frequently met with from individuals of our nation, has never been able to produce a diminution of their native hospitality.—*Fueillé*, vol. ii.

Lord Anson, in his voyage, gives a particular description of the dexterity of the South American peasants in managing the laqui, with which they take animals, either wild or domestic. In Chili, the inhabitants of the country constantly carry this laqui with them, fastened to the saddles, in order to have it ready upon occasion, and are very skillful in the use of it. It consists merely of a strip of leather several fathoms in length, well twisted in the manner of a cord, and terminated by a strong noose of the same material. They make use of it both on foot and horseback, and in the latter case with equal certainty whether amidst woods, mountains, or steep declivities. On these occasions, one end of it is fastened under the horse's belly, and the other held by the rider, who throws it over the flying animal with a dexterity that scarcely ever misses its aim. Herodotus makes mention of a similar noose which was used in battle by the Sagartians.* The Chilians have also employed the laqui with success against the English pirates, who have landed upon their coast. They are also skillful in the management of horses, and in the opinion of travellers, who have had an opportunity of witnessing their dexterity and courage in this exercise, they might soon be formed into the best body of cavalry in the world. Their attachment to horses renders them particularly fond of horse-racing, which they conduct in the English manner.

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* The Sagartii were originally of Persian descent, and use the Persian language; they have no offensive weapons either of iron or brass, except their daggers; their principal dependance in action is upon cords made of twisted leather, which they use in this manner: when they engage an enemy, they throw out these cords, having a noose at the extremity; if they entangle in them either horse or man, they without difficulty put them to death.—*Beloes' Herodotus*, vol. iii. *Polymnia*, page 205.

The negroes, who have been introduced into Chili wholly by contraband means, are subjected to a state of servitude which may be considered as tolerable in comparison to that which they endure in many parts of America, where the interest of the planter stifles every sentiment of humanity. As the planting of sugar and other articles of West-Indian commerce has not been established in Chili, the slaves are employed in domestic services, where by attention and diligence they more readily acquire the favour of their masters. Those in most esteem are either such as are born in the country of African parents, or the mulattoes, as they become more attached to the family to which they belong.

The humanity of the government or the inhabitants has introduced in favour of this unfortunate race a very proper regulation. Such of them as by their industry have obtained a sum of money sufficient for the purchase of a slave, can ransom themselves by paying it to their masters, who are obliged to receive it and set them at liberty, and numbers who have in this manner obtained their freedom, are to be met with throughout the country. Those who are ill-treated by their owners can demand a *letter of sale,* which is a written permission to them to seek a purchaser. In case of the master's refusal, they have the privilege of applying to the judge of the place, who examines their complaints, and if well founded, grants them the permission required. Such instances are, however, very unusual, either because the master, on account of his reputation, avoids reducing his slaves to this extremity, or that the slaves themselves contract such an attachment to their masters, that the greatest punishment inflicted on them would be to sell them to others. From hence it often happens that those who, for their good conduct, have their liberties given them, do not wish to avail themselves of it, in order not to lose the protection of the house they belong to, where they are certain of always having a subsistence furnished them. Masters exercise the rights of fathers of families over their slaves, in correcting them for their faults; the kind and degree of punishment is left with them when they have been guilty of any crime that is not capital. Although such a state of servitude appears repugnant to natural right, yet society derives great advantages from it. Families are not exposed to the instability of servants, who, considering themselves as strangers, never become attached to the house, and without hesitation communicate all its secrets.

The internal commerce of Chili has been hitherto of very little importance, notwithstanding the advantages that the country offers for its encouragement. Its principal source, industry, or more properly speaking, necessity, is wanting. An extensive commerce is correlative with a great population, and in proportion as the latter increases, the former will also be augmented.*

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* Hitherto it may be said, that of the two branches that in general give birth to commerce, agriculture, and industry, the first is that alone which animates the internal commerce of Chili, and even that part of the external which is carried on with Peru. The working of mines also occupies the attention of many in the provinces of Copiapo, Coquimbo, and Quillota. But the industry is so trifling that it does not deserve the name. Notwithstanding the abundanee of its fruits and materials of the first class, as flax, wool, hemp, skins, and metals, which might produce a flourishing commerce, it is conducted but languidly. The inhabitants employ themselves only in making ponchos, stockings, socks, carpets, blankets, skin coats, riding saddles, hats, and other small articles, chiefly made use of by the common or poorer class of people, since those of the middle rank employ European manufactures. These, but more particularly the sale of hides and tanned leather, which they have in great plenty, with that of grain and wine, form the whole of the internal commerce of the kingdom.

A communication by water, which greatly facilitates its progress, has been already commenced. In several of the ports barks are employed in the transportation of merchandise, which was before

The external, which is carried on with all the ports of Peru, particularly Callao, arises from the exportation of fruits; this amounts to seven hundred thousand dollars, serving not only to counterbalance the importations from that country, but leaving a balance in favour of Chili of two hundred thousand dollars annually, according to the statements given in the periodical publications of Lima.

The commerce between Chili and Buenos Ayres is quite otherwise, since for the herb of Paraguay alone it is obliged to advance three hundred dollars annually, in cash. The other articles received from thence are probably paid for by those sent thither.

In the trade with Spain, the fruits received from Chili go but a little way in payment of more than a million of dollars, which are received from thence annually in European goods, either directly or by the way of Buenos Ayres, and sometimes from Lima. Gold, silver, and copper, are the articles which form the whole of this commerce, since the hides and vicugna wool are in such small quantities as to render them of little importance.

The gold, which is coined in the capital, is regulated at five thousand two hundred marks annually, whence, by comparing the amount shipped with that coined, as no overplus appears, it is concluded that there is no clandestine extraction, notwithstanding in bullion and in works of use or ornament a very considerable quantity is expended.

The silver obtained from the mines is calculated at thirty thousand marks. Of this amount twenty-five thousand is coined yearly, and the residue employed in the manufacture of table plate, and for various other purposes. The difference carried by land upon mules, with great trouble and expense to the merchant. This beneficial innovation will probably be followed by others of still greater importance. Several large ships have also been built in the harbour of Conception and the mouth of the river Maúle. The external commerce is carried on with Peru and Spain. In the first twenty-three or twenty-four ships of five or six hundred tons each are employed, which are partly Chilian and partly Peruvian. These usually make three voyages in a year; they carry from Chili wheat, wine, pulse, almonds, nuts, cocoa-nuts, conserves, dried meat, tallow, lard, cheese, sole leather, timber for building, copper, and a variety of other articles, and bring back in return, silver, sugar, rice, and cotton. The Spanish ships receive in exchange for European merchandise, gold, silver, copper, vicugna wool, and hides. A trade with the East

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in the quantity shipped from that coined arises from the receipts from Lima. The remittances of gold and silver to Spain are usually made from Buenos Ayres; the first, being less bulky, is carried by the monthly packets in sums of two or three thousand ounces; as to the second, it is sent in two convoy ships in the summer, by which conveyances gold is also remitted. In calculating the gold from the remittances, it amounts to six hundred and fifty-six thousand dollars, and the silver to two hundred and forty-four thousand. The copper, which is extracted from the mines, is estimated from eight to ten thousand quintals. From these data it will not be difficult to form a general estimate of all that Chili produces annually, Indies would be more profitable to the Chilians than any other, as their most valuable articles have either become scarce, or are not produced in that wealthy part of Asia, and the passage, in consequence of the prevalence of the south winds in the Pacific, would be easy and expeditious. No money is coined or has currency in Chili except gold and silver, a circumstance very embarrassing to the internal traffic. Their smallest silver coin is one-sixteenth of a dollar, and their weights and measures are the same as are used in Madrid.

END OF THE HISTORY

AN ESSAY

ON THE

CHILIAN LANGUAGE.

THE original language of Chili, generally called the Araucanian, is denominated by the natives *Chili dugu,* the Chilian tongue. The alphabet contains the same letters as the Latin, except the *x,* which is in truth nothing more than a compound letter. The *s,* which has been by some grammarians very properly called a hissing rather than a letter, is only to be found in about twenty of their words, and never occurs at the termination, which gives to their pronunciation a great degree of fulness. The *z* is still more seldom to be met with. Besides these common letters, the Chilian has a mute *e* and a peculiar *u,* like the Greeks and the French: the former is designated by the acute, and the latter by the grave accent, to distinguish them from the common *e* and *u.* This *u* is also frequently changed into *i,* in the manner of the modern Greeks. It has besides a nasal g and a *th,* which is pronounced by pressing the tongue against the roof of the mouth; the latter is frequently changed into *ch*, as *chegua* for *thegua* (the dog). In the whole of the Chilian alphabet there is not a single guttural letter or vocal aspirate, a very singular circumstance with uncivilized people. It is proper to note, that in giving the Chilian words the Italian orthography has been adopted.

All the words of the language terminate in the six vowels heretofore noticed, and in the consonants *b, d, f, g, l, m, n, r,* and *v*. There are, of course, fifteen distinct terminations, which, with their variety, render the language sweet and sonorous. The accent is usually placed upon the penultimate vowel, sometimes on the last, but never on the antepenult. The radicals, as far as can be collected from the vocabularies, which have been hitherto very imperfect, amount to one thousand nine hundred and seventy-three, and are for the greater part either monosyllables or dissyllables. I have made use of the above term in a much more limited sense than many, who improperly call all those words radicals that in any mode produce others. Proceeding upon so false a principle, they make some languages contain thirty or forty thousand roots, which must be considered a grammatical paradox. The roots of a language are those simple primitive expressions, which, neither directly nor indirectly derived from any other, produce various words, that afterwards extend themselves into a variety of different forms. Even in the most copious languages, as the Greek and Latin, the number of these roots is very limited. As far as we have been able to discover, the radical Chilian words have no analogy with those of any other known idiom, though the language contains a number of Greek and Latin words very little varied, as may be seen in the following Table:

CHILIAN.	GREEK.	
Aldùn	Aldein	to increase
Ale	Elè	splendour
Amun	Amouòn	to go
Cai	Kai	and
Ga	Gà	in truth
Lampaicon	Làmpein	to shine
Mùlan	Mullen	to pulverise
Pele	Pèlos	mud
Reuma	Reuma	a stream
Tùpun	Tupein	to whip, &c. &c.

CHILIAN.	LATIN.	
Aren	Ardere	to burn
Cupa	Cupere	to desire
Dapin	Dapinare	to feast
Ejun	Ejulare	to weep
Lev	Levis	active or swift
Lùmùlmén	Lumen	light
Lùv	Lux	brightness
Man	Manus	the right
Putun	Potare	to drink
Valin	Valere	to be worth
Valén	Valere	to be able
Une	Unus	one, &c. &c.

This, however, is probably only the result of an accidental combination, for the opinion that they have been derived from the Spanish is utterly destitute of foundation, the nation being for the most part unacquainted with it, whereas these words are to be found in the earliest vocabularies of the Chilian language.

The Chilian nouns are declined with a single declension, or, to speak with more precision, they are all undeclinable, except by the addition of various articles or particles, which mark the number and case. They resemble the Greek nouns in having three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural, as will appear in the following example :

Singular.

Nom.	*Cara,* the city.	Accus.	*Cana.*
Gen.	*Cara-ni.*	Voc.	*a Cara.*
Dat.	*Cara-meu.*	Abl.	*Caramo.*

Dual.

Nom.	*Cara-egu,* the two cities.	Accus.	*Cara-egu.*
Gen.	*Cara-egu-ni.*	Voc.	*a Cara-egu.*
Dat.	*Cara-egu-meu.*	Abl.	*Cara-egu-mo.*

Plural.

Nom.	*pu-Cara,* the cities	Accus.	*pu-Cara.*
Gen.	*pu-Cara-ni.*	Voc.	*a pu-Cara.*
Dat.	*pu-Cara-meu.*	Abl.	*pu-Cara-mo.*

Instead of *pu,* the discriminative mark of the plural, the particles *ica* or *egen* may be used affixed to the noun, or *que* placed between the adjective and substantive when they come together. Thus *Cara* will make in the plural either *Caraica,* or *Caraegèn,* or *Cumeque Cara,* the good cities.

From hence it will be seen that, contrary to the practice in the modern languages of Europe, the article in the Chilian is affixed to the noun. This mode of declension sometimes occurs in the Greek and Latin languages, in which we meet with a few nouns declined in this manner, though more variously, as musa in Latin, and soma in Greek. The Chilian abounds with adjectives both primitive and derivative. The latter are formed from every part of speech by certain invariable rules, as from *tue,* earth, comes *tuetu,* terrestrial; from *quimen,* to know, *quimchi,* wise; and these, by the interposition of the particle *no,* become negative, as *tuenotu,* not terrestrial; *quimnochi,* ignorant. Although these adjectives have all different terminations, they are, nevertheless, like the English adjectives, unsusceptible of number, or of gender. The same is the case with the participles and the derivative pronouns, from whence it may be said that the Chilian possesses but one gender. Whether this defect is real or only apparent, it is well compensated by the advantage which the language possesses of rendering any one secure against the commission of a grammatical error, either in writing or in speaking, as whenever it becomes necessary to distinguish the sexes, the word *alca* is used to denote the masculine, and *domo* the feminine gender.

The comparative is formed, as in most of the living languages, by prefixing to the positive the particle *jod* or *doi,* signifying more, and to the superlatives the adverbs *cad* or *mu,* as *doichu,* more limpid; *muliu,* most limpid. The Chilian wants the diminutives and augmentatives, but these, as in the French, are supplied by the adjectives *pichi,* little, and *buta,* great. Diminutives are also formed by changing a letter of a harsh sound for one more harmonious, as *votun,* son; *vochiun,* little son. The primitive pronouns are, *inche,* I; *eimi,* you; *teye,* which, &c. The relatives are, *iney,* who; *chem,* what; *ta* or *ga,* that, &c. The verbs terminate in the infinitive, as in the Greek and German, in *n,* with this difference, that all the German verbs end in *en,* and the Greek in *in,* except in those cases where they are contracted; whereas the Chilian terminate in the syllables *an, en, in, on, un,* and *ún.* They are all, nevertheless, without exception, regulated by a single conjugation, and are of three kinds, active, passive, and impersonal, with three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural. They have all the Latin moods and tenses, with three or four others, which may be denominated mixed.

All the tenses of the indicative produce participles and gerunds both in active and passive verbs. The terminations of the present tense of each mood serve for the other tenses of the same mood, which are distinguished from one another by certain characteristic particles, as *que* in the second present tense, *bu* in the perfect, *uye* in the perfect, and *a* in the first future. The compound and mixed tenses are formed by the union of the same particles. These characteristic particles are applicable to all the moods, as well of active as of passive and impersonal verbs.

Verbs passive are formed by placing the auxiliary *gen*, to be, between the radical and the final *n* of the verb, and is conjugated with the same terminations as the active. The impersonal are formed by annexing the particle *am* to the radical word, or to the denotement of time. This simple method will appear more clearly in the conjugation of the verb *elun*, to give, which will serve as a model for all the others, without exception.

VERB ACTIVE.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

Sing.	*Elun*, I give.	Dual.	*Eluyu*, we two give.
	Eluimi, thou givest.		*Eluimu*, you two give.
	Elui, he gives.		*Eluigu*, they two give.

Plural. *Eluign*, we give.
Eluimen, ye give.
Eluigen, they give.

Second Present.

Sing. *Eluchen*, I give. *Eluchemi*, thou givest, &c.*

Imperfect.

Sing. *Elubun*, I did give. *Elubuimi*, thou didst give, &c.

Perfect.

Sing. *Eluuyen*, I gave. *Eluuyeimi*, thou gavest, &c.

Pluperfect.

Sing. *Eluuyebun*, I had given. *Eluuyebuimi*, thou hadst given, &c.

First Future.

Sing. *Eluan*, I will give. *Eluami*, thou wilt give, &c.

Second Future.

Sing. *Eluuyean*, I shall have given. *Eluuyeaimi*, thou shalt have given, &c.

First Mixed.

Sing. *Eluabun*, I had to give. *Eluabuimi*, thou hadst to give.

Second Mixed.

Sing. *Eluuyeabun*, I ought to have had to give. *Eluuyeabuimi*, thou oughtest to have had to give, &c.

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* The first present of all the verbs is regularly used as the compound preterite; thus *elun* signifies I give and I have given. The second present is that which denotes simply the present moment.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Sing.	*Eluchi,* let me give.	Dual.	*Eluyu,* let us two give.
	Eluge, give thou.		*Elumu,* do you two give.
	Elupe, let him give.		*Elugu,* let those two give

Plural. *Eluign,* let us give.
Elumen, give ye.
Elugen, let them give.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

Sing.	*Eluli,* if I may give.	Dual.	*Elulin,* if we two may give.
	Elulma, if thou mayest give		*Elulmu,* if you two may give.
	Eluli, if he may give.		*Elulgu,* if we two may give.

Plural. *Elulign,* if we may give.
Elulmen, if ye may give.
Elulgen, if we may give.

Imperfect.

Sing. *Elubuli,* if I might give. *Elubulmi,* if thou mightest give, &c.

Perfect.	*First Future.*
Sing. *Eluuyeli,* if I may have given.	Sing. *Eluali,* if I shall give.

Pluperfect.	*Second Future.*
Sing. *Eluuyebuli,* if I might have given.	Sing. *Eluuyeali,* if I shall have given.

First Mixed.	*Second Mixed.*
Sing. *Eluabuli,* if I had to give.	Sing. *Eluyeabuli,* if I should have to give.

OPTATIVE MOOD.

The optative is formed of the subjunctive, or of the two mixed tenses of the indicative, with the desiderative particles *velem, vel,* or *chi* annexed, as *eluli velem!* God grant that I may give; *eluabun chi!* Would to God that I had to give!

INFINITIVE MOOD.

The affirmative infinitive is not distinguishable from the first persons singular of the tenses of the indicative, as is the case in most of the primitive languages, and likewise in the English. Thus all the nine tenses of the indicative have their peculiar infinitives, and whenever it becomes necessary to make a distinction between them, it is done by prefixing some determinative particle.

ACTIVE PARTICIPLES.

First Present.

Elulu, he or that who gives.

Perfect.

Eluuyelu, he who gave.

Second Present.

Eluquelu, he who gives.

Pluperfect.

Eluuyebulu, he who had given.

Imperfect.

Elubulu, he who did give.

First Future.

Elualu, he who shall give.

Second Future.

Eluuyealu, he who shall have given.

First Mixed.

Elualulu, he who shall have to give.

Second Mixed.

Eluuyeabulu, he who should have given.

GERUNDS.

First Present.

Eluyum, giving.

Second Present.

Elual, for to give, &c.

Imperfect.

Eluyubum, when giving, &c.

VERB PASSIVE.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present Tense.

Sing. *Elugen*, I am given.
Elugeimi, thou art given.
Elugei, he is given.

Dual. *Elugeyu*, we two are given, &c.

Imperfect.

Elugebum, I was given, &c. &c.

PARTICIPLES PASSIVE.

First Present.

Elugelu, given.

Imperfect.

Elugebulu, that was given, &c.

Second Present.

Eluel, given.

Perfect.

Elubuel, that was given.

IMPERSONAL VERB.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

First Present.

Eluam, that is giving.

Second Present.

Elucheam, that is giving.

Imperfect.

Elubuam, that was giving.

Perfect.

Eluuyeam, that was given.

Pluperfect.

Eluuyebuam, that had given.

First Future.

Eluayam, that shall be given.

Second Future.

Eluuyeayam, that should be given.

First Mixed.

Eluabuam, that had to give.

Second Mixed.

Eluuyeabuam, that should have to give.

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Elupeam, let us give.

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present.

Eluleam, that we may give.

Imperfect.

Elubuleam, that we should give.

Instead of the impersonal verb, the third person singular of the passive may be used impersonally, in the manner of the Latin.

The above conjugation becomes negative by the admission of the particle *la* in the indicative, *qui* in the imperative, which then takes the termination of the conjunctive, and *no* in the subjunctive and infinitive moods, as in the following example:

Indicative.

Elulan, I do not give. *Elulaimi,* thou dost not give, &c.

Imperative.

Eluquili, let me not give, &c.

Subjunctive.

Elunoli, if I do not give. *Elunolmi,* if thou dost not give, &c.

Infinitive.

Elunon, not to give, &c.

This negative conjugation is much used in all the verbs, but it should be observed that in using it whenever two *a's,* or any other monotonous vowels are brought together, a *y* is placed between them to avoid harshness, as in the future negative *elulayun,* not to give. This method gives rise to a number of very singular verbs; as, *pilan,* I deny; *gelan,* I am not; *pelan,* I do not see, &c. From hence also comes *lan,* to die, that is, to be nothing; *lalan,* I shall not die.

From the above remarks, it will be seen that almost the whole structure of the Chilian conjugation consists in the use of the participles, which may be called regulators of time, as either singly or combined they vary and modify the tenses. They also perfectly supply the place of the modern auxiliary verbs. Thus the pluperfect, participating of the imperfect and perfect, is composed of the particles of both. The future perfect is likewise formed from the characteristic particles of the perfect and the future, and combines the signification of both. The same may be observed with regard to the mixed, which adopt the particles or augmentative syllables of those tenses that approach nearest them in signification, the first using those of the future and imperfect, and the second those of the perfect, the future, and the imperfect. The same system, though less obvious, occurs with little variation in the Latin conjugations, the pluperfect amaveram being apparently composed of the perfect amavi and the imperfect eram, and amavero of the same perfect and the future ero.

Having given a succinct view of the first inflexions of the verb, I shall proceed to notice the second in which it is equally abundant. Nouns ending in OR,* are formed by changing the final *n* of the infinitive into *voe* or *ve*, as *cluvoe* or *cluve*, the giver. Those implying action terminate in *ue, al, om, un,* and *um*. The infinitive itself becomes a noun, as *thecan*, signifies both to pass and a passage. Those called in the

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* The Spanish or Latin termination is here meant.

Latin nouns in BILIS, are formed by the interposition of the particle *val* with a participle, as *elu*VAL*lu*, donable, (or that which may be given), *ayu*VAL*lu*, amiable, and become negatives by the farther interposition of the particle *no*. Abstract nouns are very frequent, and generally terminate in *gen*, as *ayuvalgen*, amiableness, *butagen*, greatness. The compounds, which in Latin end in ETUM, and Italian in ETO, as CASTAGNETO,* terminate in the Chilian in *ntu*; *rumentu*, a bed of flowers; *curantu*, a place full of stones; *millantu*, a mine of gold.

The simple structure only of the verb has hitherto been noticed. To point out the several combinations it admits, would require a laboured treatise, admitting that each simple verb becomes, by its union with various particles, the fertile root of numerous other verbs. Of these particles, there are some which, by being prefixed, perform the office of the Latin prepositions; others are interwoven with the verb itself, and give force to, or gracefully vary its signification. The following examples of the latter, taken from the numerous derivatives of the verb *elun*, will suffice to explain this peculiar formation. *Eluclen*, to be giving; *eluguen*, to give more; *eluduamen*, to wish to give; *elujecumen*, to come giving; *elullen*, to give in earnest;

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* A grove of chesnut trees.

eluyaun, to go giving; *elumen,* to go to give; *elumon,* to have occasion to give; *elupan,* to come to give; *elupen,* to doubt to give; *elupran,* to give to no purpose; *elupun,* to pass in giving; *elurquen,* to appear to give; *eluremun,* to give unexpectedly; *elulun,* to turn to give; *eluvalen,* to be able to give; *elumepran,* to go to give in vain, &c.

Two, three, or more of these particles, when combined, form verbs of such a length as to comprehend an entire sentence, as *iduanclolavin,* I do not wish to eat with him; *pemepravin,* I went to see him in vain. The first is composed of five distinct words, *in,* to eat; *duan,* wish; *clo,* with; *la,* not; *vi,* him or it, and is conjugated through all its parts like *elun,* as *iduanclolavimi, iduamclolavi, &c.* This kind of elegant compound is very common in the Chilian.

Verbs are also formed by a happy combination of others, as from *ayen,* to laugh, and *thipan,* to go out, is derived *ayethipan,* to go out laughing; *quindugun,* to know how to talk; *pepimedan,* to be able to present, &c. Verbs neuter become active, and active relative by the use of the particles *ca, ica, lé, lel, ma,* and *ù,* as in the following instance; *athum,* to fatigue one's self; *athucan,* to fatigue; *gen,* to be; *gein,* to give being to; *jeguenman,* to venerate him. From hence it will readily be inferred, that the poetical and rhetorical expressions of this language are forcible and pathetic; but, in order to be able to form a proper idea of its copiousness and elegance, it is necessary to hear an Araucanian deliver a public speech.

The barbarous languages are generally very deficient in connective particles, but the Chilian, on the contrary, abounds with prepositions, adverbs, interjections, and conjunctions. The same prepositions, which in the Latin are placed after the noun, occupy a similar position in the Chilian, as *ple,* towards; *cutu,* until; *vla,* therefore. The compound adverbs are formed by adding to the adjectives, and also to the verbs *gechi* or *quechi,* as *thepengechi,* cheerfully; *cumequechi,* spontaneously, &c. These are rendered negative by the introduction of the particle *no,* as *thepengenochi.* The numerals end in *chi, mel, omita*; as *marichi,* ten times; this latter adverb is also used, as it was by the Pythagoreans, in an unlimited sense, as *marichi ilayan,* to eat no more.

The Chilian contains a variety of interjections: the principal of which are *hue,* ah! *lue,* an expression of joy; *cma,* of affection; *veicu,* of admiration; *eu,* of affliction; *ahithi,* of pain; *uya,* of indignation; *tutui,* of contempt; *chioqui,* of ridicule; *sum,* of affirmation, &c. Among the conjunctions are *cai,* notwithstanding; *chei, cambe,* or; *tuto, tume,* if; *cam, am,* perhaps; *rume,* although; *ca,* so that; *uelu,* but; *petu,* also; *chemmo*, because; *mai*, yes; *no*, *mu*, no; *ina-cai*, moreover; *deuma*, after that; *ula*, to the end that. It contains also many expletory particles, as *chi*, *ga*, *maga*, *pichita*, *cachia*, &c.

The syntax differs not materially from the construction of the European languages. The subject, whether active or passive, may be placed either before or after the verb. *Mi peni aculei*, your brother has not come, or *aculei mi peni*, are used indifferently, as are *pevin apo*, I have seen the governor, or *apo pevin*. The genetive, or at least its article, is commonly placed before the noun that governs it. The adjective is always placed before its substantive. The articles are sometimes omitted for the sake of brevity or elegance, as *millalonco*, head of gold; at other times they are used instead of the substantive, as *Columilla agen*, the vassals of Columilla.

The verb is frequently placed in the singular, although its proper number is the dual, or plural, as is also common in the Greek in cases of neutral nouns, as *pu cona cupai*, the soldiers have come. The auxiliary added to the infinitive of other verbs forms the gerund, as *gumangei*, he is weeping. The same infinitive, by being placed before the noun that governs it, makes a gerund of the genetive; as *pin-antu*, it is the time of speaking: but whenever it indicates motion it admits the articles *ni*, *meu*, or *mo*, as *ni pagitum* *cupan,* I come to hunting lions. The participle passive is also employed for this purpose with the same articles.

Participles and gerunds are very frequent in this language, or rather, they occur in almost every sentence; whence all the offices of the infinitive and the relative are usually performed by the participle or the gerund.

Laconism is the principal characteristic of the Chilian. From hence arises the almost constant practice of including the passive case in its verb, which, when thus combined, is conjugated in every respect as it is when by itself. A Chilian rarely says *elun ruca,* I give the house, but in order to express himself with precision he will immediately form both words into the verb *elurucan,* which signifies the same thing. They pursue a similar method with the pronouns, *eluun,* I give myself; *eluen,* I give you; *eluvin,* I give him or them. This manner of arranging the pronouns, which has some resemblance to the Hebrew, is called by the Chilian grammarians, transition. Of this they distinguish seven kinds, which render the attainment of the language very difficult at first, from the particularity that is requisite to be observed in the use of them.

From the same principle proceeds the no less singular practice, already noticed, of converting all the parts of speech into verbs, in such a manner that the whole knowledge of the Chilian language may be said to consist in the management of the verbs. The relatives, the pronouns, the prepositions, the adverbs, the numerals, and in fine all the other particles as well as the nouns are subject to this metamorphosis, as *chiu,* what? *chiumen,* what's to be done? *mivu,* how many? *mivui,* how many are they? *eimimolan,* I have no occasion for you; *minche,* under, *minchen,* to be under; *meli,* four, *melin,* to be four; *doy,* more, *doin,* to be more; *vem,* like, *vemen,* to be like another.

Proper names are also susceptible of this elegance. Thus from Pedro, is formed the verb *petron,* to be Pedro; *Petrobui,* was Pedro. In consequence of this singular variation, the substantives and adjectives produce some very curious verbs; as from *pùlli* or *pùllù,* the soul, is derived *pùllùn,* to apply the whole soul, to pay the greatest attention; in like manner from *then,* time comes, *thenen,* to arrive in time; from *re,* pure, *relen,* to do only one thing, &c. Owing to this property the translation of European works into the Chilian is very easy, in which, instead of losing any of their spirit and elegance, they acquire a degree of precision even superior to the originals. This, among other instances that might be mentioned, is strongly evinced in the Christian Thoughts of the celebrated Bouhours, which was translated in the year seventeen hundred and thirteen. There can be no better test of a language than its translations, as its comparative richness or poverty is rendered more apparent in this mode than in any other.

Another remarkable property of the Chilian is the frequent use of abstract words in a peculiar manner. Thus, instead of saying *pu Huinca*, the Spaniards, they commonly say *Huincagen*, the Spaniolity; *tamén cùiagen*, your trio, that is, you other three; *epu tamen cajugen layai*, two of you other six will die, literally, two of your sixths. The verb *pin*, which signifies to say, is repeated in almost every sentence in familiar conversation, as is usual with the lower class of the Bolognese; "*pu auca cùmegei*, *pi*; *dachelai*, *pi*; *dagechelai cai*, *pivin*: the Araucanians are good, says he; they do no harm, says he; then they ought not to be ill-treated, says he." An ambassador or messenger always expresses himself in the very words of those who send him, as was customary among the Hebrews and the ancient Greeks.

Many more reflections might be made upon the simple structure of this language; but as these will readily occur to those who have attended to the remarks already made, it will be unnecessary to dwell longer upon the subject. From what knowledge we possess of it, the Chilian appears to combine the genius of the primitive language of the East, with that of the ancient and modern European. It is obvious from its very structure that it is an original language, and it is a circumstance not a little remarkable, that it should have produced no particular dialect, notwithstanding it has extended itself over a space of one thousand two hundred miles, among so many insubordinate tribes, wholly destitute of all kind of literary intercourse. The Chilians who live in the 24th degree of latitude, speak the same language as the natives of the 45th ; nor is there any essential difference between that spoken by the islanders, the mountaineers, or the inhabitants of the plains : the Boroans and Ilicurans alone sometimes change the *r* into *s*. The Chilotes have adopted several Spanish words, but it has been more owing to a wish to flatter ther masters, than to any preference of them to their own. Were the Chilian a meagre language, its immutability might be attributed to its paucity of words, which in such cases, being intended to express only the most simple and common ideas, do not readily admit of change ; but as, on the contrary, it abounds with words, it is wonderful that it has not been divided into a number of subordinate dialects, as has been the case with other primitive languages that have been in any considerable degree extended.

CHILIAN WORDS

EXPRESSIVE OF NUMBER.

Numerals.

Quigne,	one	*Mari-quigne,*	eleven.
Epu,	two	*Marie-pu,*	twelve, &c.
Cula,	three	*Epumari,*	twenty.
Meli,	four	*Culamari,*	thirty.
Quechu,	five	*Melimari,*	forty, &c.
Cayu,	six	*Pataca,*	one hundred.
Relghe,	seven	*Epupataca,*	two hundred.
Para,	eight	*Culapataca,*	three hundred, &c.
Aylla,	nine	*Huaranca,*	one thousand.
Mari,	ten	*Epuhuaranca,*	two thousand, &c. &c.

Adverbs.

Quignechi, Quignemel, Quignemita, once.
Epuchi, Epumal, Epumeta, twice, &c.

Ordinals.

Unen, Unelelu, Quignelelu, Quignegetu, Quignegentu, Quigmentu, once.

Epulelu, Epugelu, Epugentun, Epuntu, &c. twice.

Distributives.

Calique, Mollquigne, one by one.
Epuque, Mollepu, two by two.

Verbs.

Quignen, to be one; *Quignelian,* to join; *Epun,* to be two, &c. &c.

Abstracts.

Quignegen, unity; *Epugen,* duality; *Culagen,* trinity, &c.

Indefinites.

Quignelque, several; *Epulgen,* about two; *Culalque,* about three.

To the preceding Account of the Language of the Araucanos, which is common to the Moluches, that of Falkner, the Missionary, in his Description of Patagonia, may properly be added.

"THE nouns have only one declination, and are all of the common gender. The dative, accusative, and ablative cases, have all the same termination, with their suffix or postposition. There are but two numbers, singular and plural; the dual being expressed by placing the word epu (which signifies two) before the word: but the pronouns have all the three numbers. The adjectives are put before the substantives, and do not vary their terminations, either in case or number: as,

Cume	good,
Cume huentu	a good man,
Cume huentu eng'n	good men.

THE DECLINATION OF THE NOUNS.

Singular.	*Plural.*
N. Huentu, the man,	*N. Pu huentu,* or *huentu eng'n* } the men.
G. Huentuni, of the man, &c.	
D. Huentumo,	*G. Pu huentu,* of the men,
A. Huentumo,	and so on, as in the singular.
V. Huentu,	
A. Huentumo, or *Huentu engu,*	

THE PRONOUNS.

Inche,	I,	*Quisu,*	{ he alone, or himself,
Eimi,	thou,		
Vei,	he,	*Inche quisu,*	I myself,
T'va or *T'vachi,*	this	*Inchiu,*	we two,
Velli,	that,	*Inchin,*	we many.
Inei,	whom,		

And, in the same manner,

Eimi,	thou,	*Eim'n*	you many.
Eimu,	you two,		

For pronouns possessive is used the genitive, or sign of the genitive, of the pronouns; *ni,* mine; *mi,* thine. Likewise *m'ten,* only; used sometimes as an adjective or pronoun, and, at other times, as an adverb.

The verbs have only one conjugation, and are never irregular or defective. They are formed from any part of speech, either by giving it the termination of a verb, or adding to it the verb substantive *gen,* or, as it is pronounced, *'ngen,* which answers to the Latin verb *sum, es, fui,* &c.

EXAMPLES.

1. *P'lle,*	near,
P'llen, or *P'llengen,*	I am near,
P'lley, or *P'llengey,*	he is near.
2. *Cume,*	good,
Cumen,	to be good.
Cumengen,	
Cumelen,	
3. *Ata,*	Evil or bad.
Atan,	to be bad,
Atangen,	
Atal'n, or *Atalcan,*	to corrupt or make bad.

The verbs have three numbers, singular, dual, and plural; and as many tenses as in the Greek tongue; all of which they form by interposing certain particles before the last letter of the indicative, and before the last syllable of the subjunctive: as,

Present tense,	*Elun,*	to give.
Imperfect,	*Elubun,*	
Perfect,	*Eluyeen,*	
Preterperfect,	*Eluyeebun,*	
First Aorist,	*Eluabun,*	
Second Aorist,	*Eluyeabun,*	
First Future,	*Eluan,*	
Second Future,	*Eluyean.*	

In the subjunctive mood they terminate with the particle *li,* striking off the letter *n* in the indicative, and varying all the tenses as before: as,

Present tense,	*Eluli,*
Imperfect,	*Elubuli,*
Perfect,	*Eluyeeli,*
Preterperfect,	*Eluyeebuli,*
First Aorist,	*Eluabuli,*
Second Aorist,	*Eluyeabuli,*
First Future,	*Eluali,*
Second Future,	*Eluyeali.*

N. B. The Huilliches frequently use, instead of *eluyeen,* in the perfect tense of the indicative, or *eluyeeli,* in that of the subjunctive, *eluvin* and *eluvili.*

I remarked that, for the imperative, they frequently used the future of the indicative, and sometimes in the third person; as, *Elupe,* Let him give.

A Moluche Indian, eating an ostrich's egg, and wanting salt, I heard him say, "*Chasimota iloavinquin,*" Let me eat it with salt. Now *iloavin* is the first future, with the particle *vi* interposed, to signify *it*. I do not know whether *quin* is any thing more than a particle of ornament; as in the word *chasimota*; where the concluding syllable *ta* is useless, but for the sake of the sound; as *chasimo,* without any addition, is the ablative case of *chasi,* salt.

The tenses are conjugated, through all their numbers, with these terminations in the indicative present;

Sing.	*n*	*imi*	*y*
Dual	*iu*	*imu*	*ingu*
Plural	*in*	*im'n*	*ing n*

EXAMPLE.

Sing.	*Elun*	*Eluimi*	*Eluy*
Dual	*Eluiu*	*Eluimu*	*Eluingu*
Plural	*Eluin*	*Eluim'n*	*Eluing'n.*

IN THE SUBJUNCTIVE.

Sing.	*li*	*limi*	*liy*
Dual	*liu*	*limu*	*lingu*
Plural	*liin*	*lim'n*	*ling'n.*

EXAMPLE.

Sing.	*Eluli*	*Elulimi*	*Eluliy*
Dual	*Eluliu*	*Elulimu*	*Elulingu*
Plural	*Eluliin*	*Elulim'n*	*Eluling'n.*

In this manner all the other tenses are conjugated.

N. B The Second Aorist and the Second Future are only used by the Picunches, and not by the Huilliches.

The infinitive mood is formed of the first person of the indicative, with the genitive of the primitive pronoun put before, or a possessive pronoun, to signify the person that acts or suffers, and may be taken from any of the tenses: as,

Ni elun,	I to give,
Ni elubun,	thou to give,
Ni eluvin, &c.	he to give.

The other possessives are *mi,* thine; and *n',* his; for these are only used in the singular.

There are two participles, formed in the same manner as the infinitive, to be conjugated through all the tenses; the one active, the other passive:

Active,	*Elulu,*	the person giving.
Passive,	*Eluel,*	the thing given.

FROM THESE ARE DERIVED,

Elubulu,	he that did give,
Eluyelu,	he that has given,
Elualu,	he that will give,
Eluabulu,	he that was to give,
Elubuel,	the thing that was given,
E luyeel,	the thing that has been given,
Elual, &c.	the thing that will be given.

Of all these, and of the active verbs, passives are formed, by adding the verb substantive, *gen*; in which case, in all the tenses, the variation or declension changes the verb substantive, the adjective verb remaining invariable.

EXAMPLE.

Elugen,	I have given,
Elugebun,	I was given,
Elugeli,	I can be given,
Elungeuyeeli,	I may have been given,
Elungeali, &c.	I shall have been given.

Another accident, which the verbs in this language suffer, is that of transition: whereby they signify as well the person that acts, as him on whom the action passes, by the interposition or addition of certain determinate particles to express it. This is common to them with those of Peru; but the latter use those which are more difficult, and in a greater number. I do not think that the languages of the nations of the Puelches, of the Chaco, or the Guaranies, have this particular property. I do not believe I can recollect them all; but I shall endeavour to give the best account I can of these transitions.

The transitions are six in number;

From *me* to *thee* or *you,*
From *you* to *me,*
From *him* to me,
From *him* to *you,*
From *me* or *you* to *him,*

And the mutual, when it is reciprocal on both sides.

The first transition is expressed by *eymi, eymu,* and *eim'n,* in the indicative; and *elmi*, *elmu*, and *elm'n,* in the subjunctive; and this runs through all the tenses: as,

Elun,	I give,
Elueymi,	I give to you,
Elueymu,	I give to you two,
Elueim'n,	I or we give to you many

And in the subjunctive,

Eluelmi,
Eluelmu,
Eluelm'n,

With their derivatives, the other tenses.

The second transition is from *you* to *me,* and is expressed by the particle *en*; as *eluen,* you give to me; which has *elueiu* and *eluein,* dual and plural.

The third transition from *him* to *me* is,

Sing.	*Elumon,*
Dual	*Elumoiu,*
Plural	*Elumoin* (when we are many.)

In the subjunctive it is,

Sing.	*Elumoli,*
Dual	*Elumoliyu,*
Plural	*Elumoliin.*

The fourth transition, from *him* to *thee,* is formed by adding *eneu* to the first person singular; as,

Elueneu, he gives to thee;

And *eymu mo, eim'n mo*, to the dual and plural;

And in the subjunctive,
Elmi mo,
Elmu mo,
Elm'n mo.

The fifth transition, from *me* to *thee*, to *this*, or *that*, or *him*, is formed by the interposition of the particle *vi*; as,

Eluvin,	I give it, or give him,
Eluvimi,	thou givest him,
Eluvi,	he giveth him,
Eluviyu, *Eluvimu,*	we or you two give to him, or give it.
Eluviu, *Eluvim'n,*	we many give to him, or give it.

The subjunctive is *Eluvili.*

This I perceive to be something equivocal with the perfect tense of the Huilliches: yet they like to use it, though they themselves know the impropriety of it. Nor is this the only ground of equivocation in their tongue, which is found especially in the prepositions; where one having many significations, the meaning is oftentimes very much confused; as may be seen in the declination of their nouns.

The sixth and last transition is conjugated through all the numbers, moods, and tenses, in the same manner as the simple verbs, and is formed by the interposition of the particle *huu*, or, as it is pronounced, *wu* ; as,

Eluhuun, or	I give to myself,
Euwun,	
Ayuwimi,	thou lovest thyself,
Ayuhui,	he loveth himself,
Ayuhuim'n, &c.	you love one another.

They have another particular mode of compounding verbs, altering their significations, making affirmatives negatives, neuters actives, and of signifying and expressing how and in what manner the thing is done, by the interposition of prepositions, adverbs, adjectives, &c. as,

Cupan,	to come,
Naucupan,	to come downwards,
Nag'n,	to fall,
Nagcumen,	to make to fall,
Payllac'non,	to put one's mouth upwards ;

from *pailla*, mouth upwards, *c'non*, to put.

Aucan,	to rebel,
Aucatun,	to rebel over again,
Aucatul'n,	to make to rebel,
Lan,	death or to die,
Langm'n,	to kill,
Langm'chen,	to kill Indians ;

from *langm'n*, to kill, and *che*, Indian or man.

Ayun,	to love,
Ayulan,	not to love.

Pen signifies to see ; *pevin* is, I saw him ; *vemge*, on this matter ; and *la* is the negative. These words are compounded into one, thus, *pevemgelavin*, I saw him not on this manner.

The numeral words in this language are complete, and may be used to describe any number whatsoever.

Quine,	one,	*Meli,*	four,	*Cayu,*	six,
Epu,	two,	*Kechu,*	five,	*Selge,*	seven,
Quila,	three,				

Mari (or *Massi,* as the Huilliches have it) ten,

The intermediate numbers are composed as follows:

Pataca,	a hundred,	*Huaranca,*	a thousand.
Massi quine,	eleven,	*Epu massi epu,*	twenty-two,
Massi epu,	twelve,	*Epu massi quila,*	twenty-three,
Massi quila,	thirteen,	*Quila pataca,*	three hundred,
Epu massi,	twenty,	*Selge pataca,*	seven hundred.

THE ADVERBS, &c.

Mu,	no,
May,	yes,
Chay, or *Chayula,*	to-day, or presently,
Vule,	to-morrow,
T'vou,	here,
Vellu,	there,
P'lle,	near,
Allu mapu	afar off,
Nau,	under, or downwards,
Hueñu,	above,
Pule,	against,
Allu pule,	distant,
Chumgechi,	on what manner,
Vemgechi or *vemge,*	on this manner,
Mo, or *meu,*	the Latin prepositions, *in, contra, cum, per, ob, propter, intra,*

Cay, and *Chay,* placed after a noun, or, alone, and, perhaps,

Huecu, without.

To give some further idea of this language, I add the following specimens of it:

THE SIGN OF THE CROSS.

Santa cruz ni gnelmeu, inchin in pu
By the sign of the holy cross, from our
caynemo montulmoin, Dios, inchin in
enemies deliver us, O God, our
Apo; Chao, Votch'm cay, Spiritu Santo cay,
Lord; the Father, and Son, and the Holy Ghost,
ni wimeu. Amen.
in the name of. Amen.

THE BEGINNING OF THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Inchin in Chao, huenumeuta m'leymi,
Our Father, in Heaven thou that art,
ufchingepe mi wi; eymi mi toquin
hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom
inchinmo cupape; eymi mi piel,
to us may it come; thy will,
chumgechi vemgey huenu-mapumo,
as it is done in Heaven,
vemgechi cay vemengepe tue-mapumo; &c.
so likewise may it be done on earth; &c.

THE BEGINNING OF THE CREED.

Mupiltun Dios, Chaomo vilpepilvoe, huenu
I believe in God, the Father Almighty, of Heaven
vemvoe, tue vemvoe cay; inchin in Apo
the maker, and of earth the maker also; in our Lord
Jesu Christomo cay, veyni m'ten Votch'm, &c.
Jesus Christ also, his only son, &c.

THE BEGINNING OF THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.

Q. Chumten Dios m'ley? How many Gods are there?
A. Quine m'ten. One only.
Q. Cheu m'ley ta Dios? Where is God?

A. Huenu-mapumo, tue-mapumo, In Heaven, in earth,
vill-mapumo sume cay, and in all the world wheresoever.
Q. Iney cam Dios? Who is God?
A. Dios Chao, God the Father, *Dios Votch'm,* God the Son,
Dios Spiritu Santo; *cay quila Persona geyum,*
God the Holy Ghost; and being three Persons,
quiney Dios m'ten, are one God only.
Q. Chumgechi, quila Persona geyum, quine m'ten ta Dios?
How, being three persons, God is one alone?
A. T'vachi quila Persona quine
These three Persons have one only
gen-n'gen, veyula quine m'ten ta Dios.
Being, for this God is one alone.

These specimens are accommodated to the Indian expression, and intermixed with a few Spanish words, where the Indian idiom is insufficient, or might give a false idea. And this, with the short vocabulary annexed, may suffice to give a small but imperfect notion of this language.

I omit several common words, because they have been already explained.

VOCABULARY.

P'LLU, the soul, a spirit.
Lonco, the head, the hair.
Az, the face.
N'ge, the eyes.
Wun or Huun, the mouth.
Gehuun, the tongue.
Yu, the nose.
Voso, the teeth, the bones.
Anca, the body.
Pue, the belly.
Cuugh, the hand.
Namon, the foot.
Pinque, the heart.
P'neñ, a child.
Nahue, a daughter.
Peni, a brother.
Penihuen, own brothers.
Huinca, a Spaniard.
Seche, a neat Indian.
Huenuy, a friend.

Caynie, an enemy.
Huincha, a head-fillet.
Makun, a mantle.
Lancattu, glass beads.
Cofque, bread.
Ipe, food.
In, or ipen, to eat.
Ilo, flesh.
Ilon, to eat flesh.
Putun, drink, to drink.
Putumum, a cup.
Chilca, writing.
Chilcan, to write.
Sengu, a word, language; also a thing.
Huayqui, a lance.
Huayquitun, to lance.
Chinu, a knife, a sword.
Chingoscun, to wound.
Chingosquen, to be wounded.
Conan, a soldier.
Conangean, he that is to be a soldier.
Amon, to walk or go.
Anun, to sit.
Anupeum, a seat or stool.
Anunmahuun, to feel inwardly.
Poyquelhuun, to feel, or perceive.
Con'n, to enter.
Tipan, to go out.
Cupaln, to bring.
Entun, to take away.
Aseln, to be averse.
Aselgen, to hate.
M'len, to be, to possess.
Mongen, life, to live.
Mongetun, to revive.
Suam, the will.
Suamtun, to will.
Pepi, power.
Pepilan, to be able.
Quimn, knowledge, to know.
Quimeln, to learn.
Quimelcan, to teach.
Pangi, a lion.
Choique, an ostrich.
Achahual, a cock or hen.
Malu, a large lizard or iguana.
Cusa, a stone, an egg.
Saiguen, a flower.
Milya, gold.
Lien, silver.
Cullyin, money, payment.
Cullingen, to be rich.
Cunnubal, poor, miserable, an orphan.
Cum panilhue (red metal) copper.
Chos panilhue (yellow metal) brass.
Gepun, colour, or painting.
Saman, a trade, an artificer.
Mamel, a tree, wood.
Mamel-saman, a carpenter.
Suca-saman, a house-builder.
Autuigh, the sun, a day.
Cuyem or Kiyem, the moon, a month.
Tipantu, a year.
K'tal, fire.
Asee, hot.
Chosee, cold.
Atutuy, it is shivering cold."

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Account of the Archipelago of Chiloé, extracted chiefly from the DESCRIPCION HISTORIAL *of that Province, by P. F. Pedro Gonzalez de Agueros.—Madrid,* 1791.

THE Province and Archipelago of Chiloé extends from point *Capitanes* to *Quilan,* from latitude 41. 30. south to 44. Longitude from the meridian of Teneriffe 302. to 303. 25. On the north it is bounded by the continent, where the Juncos and Rancos, two unconverted nations, possess the country towards Valdivia, to the north-east by the district of Osorno, a city no longer in existence, south by the Archipelago of Guaitecas, east by the Cordillera, which separates it from Patagonia, and west by the Pacific Ocean. The inhabited part of the province extends from *Maullin* to Huilad, comprising forty leagues of latitude, and from 18. to 20. of longitude, and consisting of twenty-five islands. *Isla Grande, Achao, Lemúi, Quegúi, Chelin, Tanqui, Linlin, Llignua, Quenac, Meulin, Caguach, Alaú, Apeáu, Chaulinéc, Vuta-Chauquis, Anigué, Chegniáu, Caucague, Calbuco, Llaicha, Quenu, Tabon, Abtaú, Chiduapi,* and *Kuar.*

Isla Grande, being as its name imports the largest of these islands, is the most populous, and the seat of government. Castro, its capital, and the only city in the province, was founded in 1566, by the marshal D. Marten Ruiz de Gamboa, during the administration of the viceroy Lope Garcia de Castro, in Peru.

The navigation of this Archipelago is very dangerous, from the strength and number of the currents, and nothing can be worse adapted for so perilous a sea than the boats which are used. These *piraguas,* as they are called, are without keel or deck. The planks of which they are made are laced together with strong withes, and calked with pounded cane leaves, over which the withes are passed: the cross timbers are fastened with tree-nails. In these vessels, so easily overset, the Chilotes, as the inhabitants of these islands are called, venture with a fearlessness which they derive from their being accustomed to danger, not from their skill in avoiding it. Their main sustenance is from the sea, which is generally most bountiful when the earth is least so. The mode of fishing is, I believe, peculiar to themselves. At low water they stake in a large sweep of shore, knitting the stakes together with basket-work; the flood covers these *corrales,* or pens, and at the ebb the fish are left there. A sea weed, which they call *luche,* is also used for food. They dry it, and then, by some unexplained process, form it into loaves or cakes, which are greatly esteemed not only in Chiloé, but even by the wealthy inhabitants of Lima. Seals are more numerous in the adjoining Archipelagos of Guaitecas and Guayneco: none but the Indians eat them, and their constant use of this rank food is said to impart to them so rank an odour, that it is almost necessary to keep to windward when you talk with them. Whales sometimes run themselves aground here, though they are more frequent farther to the south: they have probably retired from a coast where they are persecuted, for ambergris was formerly found in great abundance upon these shores, but is now rarely cast up.

All the islands are mountainous or craggy, a few valleys among the hills, and the flat ground near the shore, are all that are cultivated. On this belt of cultivated ground all the settlements in Isla Grande are built, forty-one in number; there is a road across the mountains, but the whole of the interior is waste. The Isle of Quinchau has six settlements, Lemui and Llaicha each four, Calbuco three, the other inhabited islands only one each, and on the continent there are three. These *pueblos* may better be called parishes than any thing else; for the houses are as scattered as the property: every one lives upon his land, and the church stands near the beach, with a few huts round it, erected merely for the purpose of lodging the parishioners when they come to mass, or any festival. In the whole Archipelago there are but four places where the houses are near enough together to assume the appearance of a village, Chacao, Calbuco, the city of Castro, and the Puerto de San Carlos. This last is the largest and most flourishing. In 1774 it contained sixty houses, and four hundred and sixty-two inhabitants: in 1791 there were above two hundred houses, and the population exceeded eleven hundred. But its prosperity is founded upon the ruin of Chacao; for, till as late as 1768, Chacao was the only port in the Archipelago. This harbour is very dangerous in consequence of rocks and shoals, and is also exposed to the north and north-east. On this account, Don Carlos de Beranger, when governor of the province, recommended that a town should be built at Gacui del Ingles; and accordingly, in 1767, orders were issued by the court of Madrid to that effect. The bay was then newly named Bahia del Rey, and the harbour, Puerto de San Carlos. It is situated in latitude 41. 57. south. Ships are frequently wrecked at the entrance, but this is entirely occasioned by the tremendous hurricanes which come on suddenly, and completely hide the land. The port itself is good. San Carlos is now the seat of government.

It is difficult to understand what motives could have induced the Spaniards to settle in this miserable country, when there was the whole of this side of South America open to them. Where there is gold or silver to be found, men will settle, however barren and unfavourable the country—where wealth is to be acquired by trade they will herd together, no matter how pestilential the situation. But Chiloé offers nothing to avarice, and only a bare and comfortless subsistence to industry. Perhaps the main part of the first settlers were from Chili, families who had escaped from the Araucanos, who wanted means to remove themselves to Peru, or to subsist if they had got there, and were glad therefore of any place of rest and security. There is, I believe, no other colony in the world to which Europeans have carried so few of their arts and comforts; nor indeed have they ever attempted to colonize against so many natural disadvantages, except in two instances, the project of Philip II. to fortify the straits of Magalhaens, and the unaccountable settlements of the Norwegians in Greenland. It frequently rains during a whole moon without intermission, and this rain is accompanied by such tremendous hurricanes, that the largest trees are torn up by the roots, and the inhabitants do not feel safe in their houses. Even in January, which is their midsummer, they have oftentimes long and heavy rains. During the height of the storm, if the clouds open to the south, however small may be this opening, fine weather succeeds; but first the wind comes suddenly from the south, with even greater violence than it had blown before from the opposite quarter, and with a sound as sudden and as loud as the discharge of cannon. Vessels are never in more danger than during these tremendous changes; the storm passes with rapidity proportioned to its violence, and then the weather clears. Thunder and lightning are seldom perceived here. The islands suffered severely by an earthquake in 1737, and a few days afterwards, it is said, that an exhalation or cloud of fire, coming from the north, passed over the whole Archipelago, and set fire to the woods in many of the islands of Guaitecas. It is said also, that those islands were covered with ashes, and that vegetation did not begin to appear upon them again till the year 1750.

Notwithstanding the quantity of rain which falls, the climate is not unhealthy; but never had people more cause to believe literally that the ground was cursed to bring forth thorns and thistles, and that it is the punishment of man to eat bread with the sweat of his brow than these poor Chilotes. They are proofs of the authenticity of this anathema, says their historian; for perhaps there are no other people in the world who labour so hard, and procure so little. Such is their poverty, that there is no iron among them, or at least so little, that the family which happens to possess an axe, lays it by as a treasure. Their substitute for the plough consists in two separate stakes, about seven or eight feet long: one end is sharp, the other inserted in a round ball. These they take one in each hand, fix the point against the ground, and force the ends on with the body, which is protected with a sheep-skin during this rude exertion. Laborious as this mode must needs be, even in the lightest soil, it is rendered still more so by the myrtle-roots which overspread the open country. The little corn which is raised can never be left to ripen, because of the rains; they cut it before it is ripe, and hang its sheaves in the sunshine, if the sun happens to shine, otherwise they let it dry within doors. Bread is of course a delicacy reserved for great occasions; and so little is the ordinary stock of corn, that many families let it remain in the ear till it is wanted for use. Good potatoes supply the want of bread, and Chiloé produces better than any part of Peru.

Apples and strawberries are their only fruit; these are good, and plentiful. The woods produce a plant called *quilineja*, much resembling the *esparto* of Spain, from which they manufacture their cables, and with various leafless parasitic plants, which supply the want of smaller cordage. A species of wild cane serves to roof their houses, and its leaves are the fodder of the few horses which are kept. A tree, which the Spaniards call *alerse*, and the Indians *lahual*, grows abundantly upon that part of the continent which is included in this province, and furnishes the main branch of their external commerce. From 50 to 60,000 planks are annually sent to Lima. The wood grows to a great size, and its grain is so even that it is cleft with wedges into boards of any thickness, even better and smoother than could be done by the saw. Neither Agueros nor Falkner had ever seen the tree; the latter supposed it, from the description which he had heard, to be of the fir tribe. If plants or seeds of this tree, he says, were brought over into England, it is very probable they would thrive here, the climate being as cold as in the country where it grows: and it is there reckoned to be the most valuable timber they have, both for its beauty and duration. The bark of the *alerse* makes excellent oakum for that part of a ship which is under water, but must not be used when it would be exposed to the sun and air.

They export also the wood of the *luma* for axle-trees and poles of coaches, of the hazle for ship-building, and especially for oars, and chests and boxes of cypress and of *ciruelillo*. Hams form a main article of export, pigs being the only animals which abound in this Archipelago, because they keep themselves. Few sheep are kept, enough however to furnish employment for the women with their wool. They make the *poncho*, two of which are a full year's work for a woman, working as they do without a loom; the warp is stretched and fastened with pegs, and they then weave with their fingers, and with this painful industry what they make is remarkably fine, strong, and beautiful. They make also a smaller kind of *poncho* called *bordillos*, which are the ordinary dress of the negroes at Lima; blankets and rugs, which are curiously wrought in colours. Linen they weave in a loom.

During their summer, when the vessels from Callao arrive, San Carlos is like a fair. This is the only opportunity the Chilotes have of supplying themselves with any thing except what they produce themselves, and their only opportunity also of disposing of their surplus produce. There is no circulating medium, and trade is therefore carried on by barter. This would leave the islanders at the mercy of the Lima merchants, if it were not for the interference of government. When the first ship arrives, the cabildo, or municipality of San Carlos, fixes the price in money at which every thing shall be rated. It is obvious that such an interference is absolutely necessary, the Chilotes being obliged, when they bought, to pay what the seller chose to demand, and when they sold, to take what the purchaser chose to give. Still it would materially benefit them if they could export their goods themselves; but the whole Archipelago does not contain one vessel large enough for a voyage to the ports of Peru, or even Chili. The soldiers who were formerly paid in clothes and other effects, are, by a late regulation, that is about eighteen or twenty years ago, to be paid in specie. If this be continued, it must have produced an important change in Chiloé. The militia of the Archipelago consists of 1,569 men, including officers: they do garrison duty, but receive no pay, nor even ratios. San Carlos has a garrison of regular troops, consisting of 33 artillerymen, 53 dragoons, and 53 infantry.

There are but two classes of people in Chiloé, Spaniards and Indians, no negroes, and no mixed breed. Why there are no negroes is explained by the poverty of the islanders; how it has happened that the other races have not intermingled is not explained. This is the more remarkable, because nowhere, perhaps, has so extraordinary a change in language taken place as among these islands; during the last half century that of the Indian inhabitants has changed: they now speak a language of which the words are Spanish, but all the inflections, syntax, and idioms, Chilese, that is to say,* Moluche.

The Spaniards, both men and women, go barefoot, except a few of the principal families, who sacrifice convenience to pride; for in a country so continually wet, it is safer to expose the feet than to cover them. The men usually wear the *poncho* instead of the cloak. Their houses, or rather hovels, are built of wood, and the crevices stopped with pieces of sheep-skin, and with rags; the roofs are of thatch, which rots so soon in that rainy climate, that it must frequently be renewed. They consist of a single room, in which the family, the poultry, and whatever cattle they happen to possess, are equally accomodated. The few who can afford it build better houses, but still of wood, divide them into several apartments, wainscot them within, and roof them with planks. Fires are very frequent, but as the houses are scattered, the mischief does not extend.

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* This very remarkable fact is noticed by Hervas in his great work upon languages. Agueros has overlooked it.

Such is the inclemency of the weather, and such the state of the roads, that a family in one of these solitary habitations is often weeks, and sometimes months, without any communication with their neighbours. There is neither hospital, physician, nor physic, in the Archipelago. A sick person is laid upon a bed, or upon a heap of skins, close to a large fire, and there they let him lie. The missionaries could find no books to teach the children to read; and when they would have taught them to write, there was no paper. Necessity produced a substitute: they made wooden tablets, which, like slates, could be washed clean when they were filled. Such is the miserable situation of the Spaniards in Chiloé, they dare not leave their wretched birth-place in the hope of bettering their fortunes; for those who have attempted it have been cut off by the small-pox, a disease unknown in the Archipelago. The whole population, in 1783, amounted to 23,477, of whom 11,985 were Spaniards.—*E. E.*

APPENDIX.

No. II.

Account of the Native Tribes who inhabit the Southern Extremity of South America, extracted chiefly from Falkner's Description of Patagonia.

ERCILLA has made the name of Araucano so celebrated, that it must not be changed. But it properly belongs only to those hordes of the Picunches who possessed the country of Arauco.

The nations who inhabit this extremity of South America are known among themselves by the general names of Moluches and Puelches. The Moluches, or warlike people, as the word implies, are divided into the Picunches, or people of the north, Pehuenches, people of the fine country, and Huilliches, people of the south. The first of these inhabit the mountains from Coquimbo to somewhat below Santiago, in Chili. The second border upon them to the north, and extend from the parallel of Valdivia to 35 degrees south latitude. Both these are included in history under the name of Araucanos. The long and obstinate wars with the Spaniards, with the Puelches, and with one another, have greatly diminished their numbers; but they have been still more diminished by the havoc which brandy has made among them. For this accursed liquor, as it may well be called by the American

Indians, they have been known to sell their wives and children: the madness which it produces occasions bloodshed; and the deaths which then happen bring on deadly feuds. The small-pox has nearly completed the work of drunkenness and of war; and when Falkner left the country they were not able to muster four thousand men among them all.

The Huilliches possess the country from Valdivia to the straits of Magalhaens. They are subdivided into four nations, who are improperly classed under one general appellation, inasmuch as three of them are evidently a different race from the fourth. That branch which reaches to the sea of Chiloé, and beyond the lake of Nahuelhuaupi, speaks the general language of Chili, differing only from the Pehuenches and Picunches in pronunciation. The others speak a mixed language of the Moluche and Tehuel (or Patagonian) tongue, and are, by their greater stature, manifestly of Patagonian origin. Collectively they are called the Vuta, or Great Huilliches; separately, Chonos, who inhabit the Archipelago of Chiloé, and its adjoining shores. Poy-yus, or Peyes, who possess the coast from latitude 48. to something more than 51. and Key-yus, or Keyes, who extend from thence to the Straits. The Moluches maintain some flocks of sheep for their wool, and sow a small quantity of corn.

The Puelches, or eastern people, so called by those of Chili, are bounded on the west by the Moluches, south by the Straits, east by the sea, and north by the Spaniards. They are subdivided into four tribes: 1. The Taluhets, a wandering race, who prowl over the country from the eastern side of the first *Desaguadero*, as far as the lakes of Guanacache, in the jurisdiction of St. Juan and St. Luiz de la Punta. There are some also in the jurisdiction of Cordova, on the rivers Quarto, Tercero, and Segundo. When the Jesuits were expelled they could scarcely raise two hundred fighting men of their own nation, and not above five hundred with all their allies. 2. The Diuihets, also a wandering race, who border west, wardly upon the Pehuenches, from 35 to 38 degrees south, and extend along the rivers Sanquel, Colorado, and Hueyque, nearly to the Casuhati on the east. This nation, and that of the Taluhets, are collectively called Pampas by the Spaniards, whose settlements in Tucumàn and on the southern shore of the Plata they have always infested, and sometimes endangered. 3. The Chechehets, or people of the east: the country which they chiefly frequent is between the rivers Hueyque and the first Desaguadero, or river Colorado, and from thence to the second Desaguadero, or river Negro. They are a wandering race, tall and stout like the Patagons, but they speak a different language: their dispositions are friendly and inoffensive, but when provoked they are a bold and active enemy. The small-pox has reduced them to a very small number. 4. The Tehuelhets, or in their own language Tehuel-Kunnees, southern men; these are the Patagons. They are divided into many tribes, all of whom, and the Chechehets also, are called by the Spaniards Serranos, or Mountaineers. The Leuvuches, who seem to be the head of all the Serranos, live on the river Negro. They speak the language of the Chechehets, with a small mixture of the Tehuel tongue. It was their policy to be at peace with the Spaniards, that they might hunt securely in the immense plains, or *pampas*, as they are called, of Buenos Ayres, but about the year 1740 they were provoked by a most wanton and treacherous attack to take arms; and Buenos Ayres would probably have been destroyed, had not the Jesuit missionaries appeased these injured people. The Tehuelhets are more numerous than all the other Indians of these parts; they are the enemies of the Moluches, and had they been as well supplied with horses, these latter, who are so terrible to the Spaniards, would long since have been destroyed.

To the south of these live the Chulilau-Kunnees, and Sehuau-Kunnees, who are the most southern of the equestrian tribes. The country beyond them to the straits is possessed by the last of the Tehuel nations, who are called Yacana-

Kunnees, or foot people: an inoffensive race, fleet of foot, and subsisting chiefly upon fish. The other Tehuelhets and the Huilliches sometimes attack them for the purpose of making slaves. The ordinary stature of all the Tehuel tribes is from six to * seven feet. None of the Puelches either keep sheep or sow, but depend entirely upon hunting, for which purpose they keep great numbers of dogs.

Of the religion of the Moluches, Molina has given a full account. The belief in an infinite number of spirits, good and evil, is common to all the tribes south of the Plata, north of which a different language and different form of superstition prevails to the Orinoco. It does not appear that the Puelches acknowledge any of these spirits as supreme over the others. The Taluhets and Diuihets call a good spirit Soychu, or he who presides in the land of strong drink. The Tehuelhets call him Guayava-Kunnee, lord of the dead. The Tehuelhets and Chechehets call an evil spirit Atskannakanatz, the other Puelches, Valichu. Neither of these names are explained by Falkner, nor does his Vocabulary include any thing which can explain them. Huecuvu must be another name for the same evil beings; for a great sandy desert, which the Chechehets never enter lest they should be overwhelmed there, is called Huecuvu Mapu, the devil's country.

Each family, as among the northern Indians, is of a cast or tribe which they distinguish by the name of an animal: some are of the cast of the tiger, some of the lion, some of the guanaco, of the ostrich, &c. and they believe that each cast had its particular creator, who resided in some huge cavern under lake or hill, whither all of that cast will go after death, to enjoy the happiness of being eternally drunk. These good spirits, they believe, made the world, and then made men in their caves. To the Indians they gave the spear, the bow

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* It is curious that Falkner, though this is his own statement, which is repeatedly confirmed in his book, should yet say he never heard of that gigantic race which others have mentioned.

and arrow, and the ball and thong; to the Spaniards, fire-arms and swords, and then sent them above ground. Animals were created in like manner in these subterraneous caves; those who were the nimblest came out first; but when the bulls and cows were coming out last of all, the Indians were frightened at the sight of their horns, and stopped up the mouth of their caves. The Spaniards were wiser, and thus they explain why they had no kine till the Spaniards introduced them. It is their opinion that all the animals who have been created below are not yet come out.

All the evil which happens either to man or beast they attribute to evil spirits, who are continually wandering about the world; even fatigue is attributed to their agency. Each of their priests, or rather jugglers, is supposed to have two of these spirits as his familiars, and their souls after death are associated to them, and perform the same works of mischief. The jugglers are of both sexes, but it seems as if it were thought an occupation unbefitting a man, for the wizards are compelled to dress like women, and restricted from marriage. Witches are under no such restriction. They are generally chosen while children: those who are most effeminate are selected, but all who are afflicted with epilepsy, or St. Vitus's dance, are considered as essentially marked out by the evil spirit themselves for their service. It is a dangerous service, for if any calamity befal either chiefs or people, the priests are frequently put to death.

No ceremonies are performed towards the good spirits; and that which is addressed to the evil ones is improperly denominated worship by Falkner. To perform it, he says, they assemble together in the tent of the wizard, who is shut up from the sight of the rest in a corner of the tent. He has a small drum, one or two round calabashes, with small sea-shells in them, (the *maraca* probably of the Brazilian tribes) and some square bags of painted hide, in which he keeps his spells. He begins the ceremony by making a strange noise with his drum and rattle-box, after which he feigns a fit or struggle with the evil spirit, who, it is then supposed, has entered into him; keeps his eyes lifted up, distorts the features of his face, foams at the mouth, screws up his joints, and after many violent and distorting motions, remains stiff and motionless, resembling a man seized with an epilepsy. After some time he comes to himself, as having got the better of the demon: next feigns within his tabernacle a faint, shrill, mournful voice, as of the evil spirit, who by this dismal cry is supposed to acknowledge himself subdued, and then, from a kind of tripod, answers all questions that are put to him. Whether his answers be true or false is of no great consequence, because if his intelligence should prove false, it is the fault of the spirit. On all these occasions the wizard is well paid.

They make skeletons of their dead. This practice, which prevails on the Orinoco also, is not used by any of the tribes between the Orellana and the Plata. One of the most distinguished women performs the dissection: the entrails are burnt, and the bones, after the flesh has been cut off as clean as possible, are buried till the remaining fibres decay. Within a year they must be removed to the burial place of the family. This is the custom of the Moluches and Pampas, but the Serranos place the bones on high upon a frame-work of canes or twigs, to bleach in the sun and rain. While the dissector is at work upon the skeleton, the Indians walk round the tent, covered with long mantles of skins, and having their faces blackened with soot, singing in a mournful voice, and striking the ground with their long spears, to drive away the evil spirits. Some go and condole with the widow and relations of the dead, if these persons be wealthy enough to pay them for their mourning with bells, beads, and other such trinketry: it is not a sort of condolence to be gratuitously offered, for they prick their arms and thighs with thorns, and feel pain at least, if not sorrow. The horses of the dead are immediately killed, that he may ride upon them in Alhue Mapu, the country of the dead; only a few are reserved to carry his bones to the sepulchre, and for the last ceremony.

When the bones are to be removed they pack them up in a hide, and lay them on the favourite horse of the deceased, which they adorn in their best manner with mantles, feathers, &c. and in this manner they travel to the family burial-place, which is sometimes three hundred leagues off, so wide are their wanderings. The Moluches and the Pampas bury them in large square pits, about a fathom deep: the bones are put together and tied in their places, then clothed with their best robes, and ornamented with beads and feathers, all of which are cleansed or changed once a year. They are placed in a row, sitting, with all the weapons and other things which belonged to the dead. The vault is then covered over with beams and twigs, over which the earth is thrown. An old matron from each tribe is appointed to take care of these graves. She opens them every year, and clothes and cleans the skeletons; for which she is held in great veneration. The bodies of the horses are placed round the grave, raised upon their feet, and supported by stakes. These graves are in general not far from their ordinary habitations. Every year they pour upon them some bowls of their first made *chica*, and drink to the good health of the dead. The Tehuelhets and southern tribes carry their dead to a great distance from their dwellings, into the desert by the sea-coast, where they set them in order above ground, with their horses round them. It is probable that they reduce them to skeletons only when they have to carry them a considerable distance, for in the Voyage of Discovery, made in 1746 by the St. Antonio, from Buenos Ayres to the Straits, the Jesuits who accompanied that expedition found one of these tents or houses of the dead. On one side there were six banners, as they may be called, of cloth of various colours, each about half-ell square, set upon high poles, which were fixed in the ground, on the other five dead horses stuffed with straw, and supported each upon three stakes. Within the house they found two *ponchos*, or Indian garments, extended, and the bodies of two men and one woman, upon which the hair and the flesh* were still remaining. On the top of the house was another *poncho*, rolled up and tied with a coloured woollen band, and in this a pole was fixed, like the pole of a vane, from which eight tassels of wool were suspended.

Widows are compelled to observe a rigorous mourning; for a whole year after the husband's death they must keep themselves close shut up in their tents, having no communication with any one, nor ever stirring out except for the common necessaries of life. They must abstain from the flesh of horses, ostriches and guanacoes, and from beef: they must never wash face or hands, but blacken themselves with soot; and any breach of chastity would be punished with death, by the relations of the husband, in both parties.

The office of ya, or chief, is hereditary, and all his sons may be chiefs if they can get Indians to follow them; but the dignity is of so little advantage, that it is not coveted. The chief has the power of protecting those who apply to him, of composing or silencing disputes, or of delivering up an offender to be put to death. In these cases his will is the law. Wherever there is no other law it is better to be entirely lawless. These petty despots are prone to bribery, and will sacrifice their vassals, and even their kindred, when well paid for it. They are esteemed in proportion to their eloquence; and the chief who is not eloquent has an orator to harangue the people for him. When two or more tribes form an alliance against a common enemy, they chuse an apo, or commander in chief, from the ablest or most celebrated of the Caziques. But this honour, though still nominally elective, has for many years been hereditary among the southern nations in the family of Cangapol.

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* Falkner therefore is mistaken in saying they were skeletons. An abstract from the original journals is printed by Charlevoix, in his Hist. du Paraguay.

The hereditary Chiefs or Elmens, as Falkner calls them, (the Ulmenes of Molina) have no power to take any thing from their vassals, nor can they oblige them to perform any kind of work without paying them: on the contrary, they must treat them kindly, and relieve their wants, or they will put themselves under the protection of another. Many of the Elmens therefore waive the privilege of their birth, and refuse to have any vassals, because they cost them much, and yield little profit. But if any body of people were to attempt to live together without a chief at their head, they would undoubtedly be killed or carried away as slaves; so hostile are even such despots as these to republicanism.

The husband buys his wife of her nearest relations, with or without her consent; he then takes her as his property. But if the woman has fixed her affections on another, she sometimes wears out the patience of her purchaser, and he turns her away, or sells her to the man of her choice, but seldom treats her ill. Widows and orphans are at their own disposal. The Yas or Elmens have two or three wives at a time; the common people may have as many as they please also, but wives are dear, and they have rarely more than one. The lives of the women are one continued scene of labour: they fetch wood and water; they dress the food; they make, mend, and clean the tents; they cure the skins, and make them into mantles; they spin, and make the *ponchos*; they pack up every thing for a journey, even the tent-poles; they load, unload, and settle the baggage; straiten the girths of the saddles, and carry the lance before their husbands, and at the journey's end set up the tent. Sickness or pregnancy, however far advanced, never exempt them from these labours; and it would be in the highest degree ignominious for their husbands to assist them. The women of the noble families may have slaves to relieve them; but should they be without them, they must undergo the same labours as the rest.

Yet the tribes at this extremity of America are not brutal to their women, like those by the Northern Ocean. The marriages are only to endure during pleasure. They who have children seldom forsake each other. The husband protects his wife even if she is in the wrong; and if he detects her in any criminal intercourse, all his anger falls upon the paramour, who is cruelly beaten, unless, after the modern fashion of England, he atones by paying for the injury which he has committed. ~~Their jugglers will sometimes~~ bid them send their wives into the woods, to prostitute themselves to the first person they meet. This is plainly a device of these wretches to make amends for the celibacy to which they are restricted. The husbands readily obey, but there are women in whom natural modesty overpowers superstition, who refuse obedience to their husbands on such an occasion, and set the wizard at defiance.

Skins are worn by all these tribes. All, except the Serranos, weave mantles of yarn, beautifully dyed with many colours, which, when wrapped round the body, reach from the shoulders to the calf of the leg: they have another of the same kind round the waist; and besides these, a small three-cornered leathern apron, two corners are tied round the waist, the other is past between the legs, and fastened behind. They tie up their hair behind, with the points upward, binding it many times above the head with a woollen band; but they are fond of wearing hats when they can procure them from the Spaniards. They paint their face red or black, and wear necklaces and bracelets of sky-blue beads. On horseback they use a peculiar sort of frock, which has a slit in the middle, through which they put their heads, and hang down to the knees, or sometimes to the feet. The stockings or boots which both sexes use are of the rudest kind: they consist merely of the skin of a horse's thigh and leg, flayed off whole, dried, then softened with grease, and suppled by wringing. The women wear straw hats, in shape like that of of the Chinese.

Their defensive armour consists of a helmet made of double bull's-hide, and shaped like a broad-brimmed hat; a tunic or shirt, with short sleeves, of anta's skin, three or four fold; this is very heavy, but effectually resists the arrow and spear, and is said to be musket proof. They use also on foot a large square unwieldy shield of bull's-hide. The Tehuelhets and Huilliches sometimes poison their arrows: their spears are of cane, four or five yards long, and pointed with iron. When they can get them from the Spaniards they use swords. The bowl and double bowl, and thong, they use both in battle and in hunting. The single one is about a pound weight: they aim it at the enemy's head, to knock out his brains; with the double one they can fasten a man to his horse, and effectually entangle man or beast, or both.—*E. E.*

THE END.

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